

THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME XLIV

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

THIS part was passed by the general editors in autumn 1973 and has been delayed in printing by difficulties outside the control of both editors and printer. They ask here for the reader's indulgence.

The literary texts (3151-3162) have all been edited by Dr M. W. Haslam. Special mention should be made of 3151, the *Atac Aokpóc* of Sophocles, new dramatic fragments of capital interest. First work on these tantalizing pieces was done by Mr E. Lobel, who assembled them by the criterion of handwriting and provided a transcript and partial commentary on some of the larger fragments (see p. xii). But the important joins which make fr. 2 into the exciting discovery it is were first remarked by Dr Haslam. We should also like to call attention to his edition of the new musical fragments 3161 and 3162.

Dr Haslam has edited two of the documents (3200, 3203). But the main burden of work on the many documents in this part (3163-3195, 3197-3204) has been shouldered by Drs A. K. Bowman, J. C. Shelton and J. D. Thomas. It would be invidious to single out particular contributions, but the following remarks are in place. Dr Bowman's contribution includes 19 (see Concordance p. xii) of the 24 unpublished documents from Oxyrhynchus which he listed in *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology xi, 1971), Appendix iv, and the contents of which were exploited in that study. Of the other texts listed in that appendix nos. 11, 15, 18, 24 will appear in Part xlv; nos. 6 and 19 are held over. Dr Shelton has addressed himself to several long and dry registers, of which there are many in the Oxyrhynchus collection still awaiting publication. 3197, edited by Dr J. D. Thomas, is a legal instrument of outstanding sociological value.

3205-3208 give the Greek text of literary and documentary papyri already published in periodicals. We salute especially Professor Świderek's land register (3205) and Dr V. Brown's Latin letter (3208).

Invaluable help in the correction of the proofs has been given by Dr W. E. H. Cockle. During the thorough cleaning that preceded the mounting of the papyri for photography he has also here and there recovered a few additional letters. Where these could not be inserted in the printed transcript (this is especially the case in 3152) they have been collected in Addenda and Corrigenda (p. xiii).

The Cambridge University Printer has taken very considerable pains to ensure accuracy and to meet the exacting requirements of the general editors. Special sorts (e.g. dots under Greek capital letters, square rough breathings, abbreviation sigla) have been added by hand at the conclusion of machine composition, and the whole then printed by lithography. This method has called for three sets of proofs.

October 1975

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
E. G. TURNER
*General Editors of the
Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

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¹ All dates are A.D. unless otherwise stated.

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AKB = A. K. Bowman
 VB = Virginia Brown
 MWH = M. W. Haslam
 FCP = F. C. Philips

JCS = J. C. Shelton
 JWS = J. W. Shumaker
 AŚ = Anna Świderek
 JDT = J. D. Thomas

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NUMBERS AND PLATES

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CONCORDANCE TABLES (cf. Preface p. v)

Bowman P. Oxy. ined.	1 = 3171	13 = 3192
	2 = 3189	14 = 3173
	3 = 3177	15 = xlv 3244
	4 = 3191	16 = 3188
	5 = 3185	17 = 3182
	6 = —	18 = xlv 3245
	7 = 3187	19 = —
	8 = 3186	20 = 3202
	9 = 3193	21 = 3190
	10 = 3176	22 = 3184
	11 = xlv 3247	23 = 3183
	12 = 3175	24 = xlv 3249

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

- 3152 In the process of cleaning Dr W. E. H. Cockle has recovered a few more traces of ink (usually by turning over a small fold in the papyrus). The following points are worth recording: 278 the left margin has [ά 360 read αλλο γ[ι]γνεται 362b there is a middle stop after άεε 391 read της εμη[ε 392 read ερω]ς επρωσε[ν 442], [the trace of ink is above the rho of 443 444 read]με[τερη]ε[τ]α[ι 595 read προδοτης 598 read δρασε]ς 600 read νυ
- 3155 Dr Cockle remarks on l. 398 (p. 40): 'Since the stichometric Δ is at line 398, is it not more likely that two "plus-verses" existed in the roll before this point? "Plus-verses" are attested at 5a, 21a, 21b, 78a.'
- 3161 introd. The Oslo texts are published in *Symbolae Osloenses* 31 (1955), 1-87.
- 3167, l. 79 The following critical apparatus should be added:
1 επεστα^λ 18 ∟δ 22 επιδεω^κ
- 3174, 16 p. 121 add at the end of the last sentence of the note: 'especially as an iambic trimeter is expected'.
- 3179, p. 134 the following critical apparatus should have been placed below the text:
1 διεστα^λ, γενημ^δ, διε^λ ε^δ 2 δεκαπρω^τ 3 θης', θεμ^δ 4 επαν', πο^λ 5 γ-, κο^λ 6 σεση^τ
- 3180 the following critical apparatus should have been placed below the text:
1 α^δ 3 διεχ^δ αυρη^λ, τω^κ 4 απη^λ το' αυρη^λ 5 β^δ ζενγ⁻ λη⁻ 6 ενε[ε]τω^τ α^δ δραχ['] 7 γδκτη αυρη^λ, σεση^τ
- 3181, p. 135 the following critical apparatus should have been placed below the text:
1 μεμε^τ, δη⁻ + γενη⁻, διε^λ α^δ l. Τρεβανιανου 2 μ in Ουελδουμανου corrected from δ 3 θης' απη^λ το) 4 θε⁻ 5 -θ∟αδχ^δ/αρ^τ 6 χο⁻ δ⁻ αυρ' διον' δεκα), ζω^λ του^κ Cαρα' σεση^τ 7 θθης' ψωβ^θ, θε⁻ 8 θε⁻ -, α⁻ σεση^τ
- 3190, p. 154 Note 4, the second sentence should be altered to read: 'It is usually assumed to mean "lawyer", but in a note to P. Beatty Panop. 1, 252 Skeat suggested that the term perhaps refers to a nome official, because he was involved in the organization of postal services by a riverboat (252) and in the transport of hides for repairs to a fort (386).'

NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLII. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ' ' an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS

The inventory numbers in general follow a set pattern, of the form 20 3B.37/D (3)a. Here '20' is the number of the present cardboard box; '3B' refers to Grenfell and Hunt's third campaign at Oxyrhynchus; '37' is the series number given inside that year to the metal packing box; 'D' indicates a layer of papyri inside that box. A few inventory numbers have the form A. B.32/A(6); these refer to a separate series of boxes.

NOTE ON THE TERMS
'RECTO' AND 'VERSO', 'FRONT' AND 'BACK'
AND THE USE OF ARROWS (→, ↓)

THE terms 'recto' and 'verso' are strictly applicable to papyrus only in those cases (which are in a minority) where a recognizable part of a roll is preserved. If there is doubt whether a roll can be recognized, the terms used here are 'front' and 'back', in conjunction with arrows placed beside the first line of the text to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing. A horizontal arrow (→) means that the fibres run in the same direction as the lines of writing; a vertical arrow (↓) means that the fibres run at right angles to the lines of writing.

To avoid confusion it must be stressed that an arrow of this sort refers always to the relationship of the writing to the surface on which it stands, that is, the vertical arrow is not used simply to indicate the back of papyrus which has on the front a text running parallel with the fibres. It means that the writing of the text on the side in question runs at right angles to the fibres. The addresses of letters and other endorsements are often written parallel with the fibres on the back, while the main text is written parallel with the fibres on the front. It will be readily understood that because of the method of manufacture of papyrus sheets this means that the endorsement runs at right angles to the text on the front. However, since an arrow refers only to a single surface, such an endorsement will be preceded by the note 'Back →'.

These signs can be applied to codices, since in them the writing is normally only horizontal across the page. The arrow in horizontal position → will therefore indicate a page of a codex in which the fibres run in the same direction as the writing, horizontally; an arrow in a vertical position will mean that the writing, if horizontal, crosses the fibres, which are by inference vertical. It is necessary to set this point out explicitly since the basis of use of the signs → ↓ is not that laid down in P. Antinoopolis III p. xii; and a theoretical defect of the new basis is that it cannot be used to describe a page of a codex which bears no writing.

When the terms 'recto' and 'verso' are applied to parchment codices, it is proposed to retain the time-honoured meanings 'recto' = a right-hand page, 'verso' = a left-hand page.

I. NEW CLASSICAL TEXT

3151. SOPHOCLES, *Αἴας Λοκρός* (AND OTHER PLAYS?)

Second/third century

The text of these evidently tragic fragments, which were assembled by Mr Lobel, is written in a plain, slightly sloping hand which I believe is the same as that responsible for XXV 2427 (Epicharmus), ascribed to the later second or early third century. Variations in the style of handwriting, as in the case of 2427, suggest that more than one manuscript may be represented, but it seems quite possible that such variations as there are, which do not form clear-cut groupings, could have occurred in the course of copying a single play. I have adopted the working hypothesis that the fragments represent only one play because the internal evidence is compatible with that assumption; and although the two biggest fragments show a certain mutual disparity of style, both lend themselves to ascription to one and the same play. But the possibility of the alternative must be freely acknowledged. Furthermore, when a single hand has been identified in more than one new work of literature, only special circumstances can enable the small fragments without any particular character to be assigned to their proper work. Parts of 2427 and 3151 may have been wrongly distributed between the items. This applies particularly to the smaller scraps of 3151 that may contain lyric passages in Doric, or those scraps of 2427, the dialect of which cannot be determined and which are otherwise without discriminant.

On the hypothesis of a single play, ascription to the *Αἴας Λοκρός* of Sophocles is made cogent by the combined evidence of the two most sizeable pieces. Marginal *notae personae* in fr. 1 identify one of the speakers as *Αἴας*, Ajax; that he is the Locrian Ajax, son of Oileus, is suggested by the word *Λοκρῶν* spoken by him at 1 ii 16. Fr. 2 has the beginning of a passionately angry speech by Athena (again identified in the margin) to the Argives, apparently concerning the upsetting of her image by Ajax when he violated Cassandra's sanctuary in the temple of Athena during or just after the sack of Troy. The only play known or supposed to have figured Ajax and to have treated of this incident is the *Αἴας Λοκρός*, and the remaining fragments accommodate themselves more or less readily to this attribution.

Identified characters besides Ajax and Athena are Talthybius at 4. 14 (1υβι pap.) and a certain -cao() at 4. 8, whom I give reasons in the note *ad loc.* for supposing to be Helicaon, son of Antenor. The presence of Helicaon in the *Αἴας Λοκρός* had not and would not reasonably have been guessed at, but since it is known that mention was made in the play of the leopard-skin that was hung outside Antenor's house (fr. 11 Pearson), it need not occasion much surprise. Just what part he plays is left obscure.

That there was an epiphany of Athena is a further new piece of information about the play, and the lines the goddess is assigned in the papyrus constitute the most substantial

existing rhythmical pattern. It might then be admissible, by rhythmizing $\Xi\bar{\Gamma}$ not as $\downarrow\downarrow$ but as $\downarrow\downarrow$ (I use the crotchet as the *χρόνος πρώτος*), to reduce it to the length of a normal long syllable.

A transcription in modern staff notation is appended. It follows the usual conventions. Bar lines mark off supposed metra.

V. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

3163. GRAIN RECEIPT

36 4B.92/H (14-15)b

7.5 × 19 cm.

16 July A.D. 72

Receipt for 46 art. 8 ch. of wheat delivered to the granary at Seryphis by a tenant farmer to pay taxes owed there by his two landlords. The document is signed by three unidentified persons, presumably associates or staff of the sitologus of line 4, and by an *ἐπισφραγιστής*.

- Ἔτους τρίτου Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ, Ἐπίφ κβ.
μεμέ(τρηνται) εἰς τὸ δη(μόσιον) διὰ Διογέν(ους)
5 καὶ μετόχ(ων) ci(τολόγων) λιβός τοπ(αρχίας) Σερύφ(εως)
τόπ(ων) παρὰ Μνησιθέου καὶ Διον()
ἀμφοτέρων Θέωνος διὰ
Ἰσοκράτους γεωρ(γοῦ), Σερύφ(εως),
πυροῦ (τριμήνου) c(ύνπαντι) δη(μοσίῳ) μέ(τρω) ξ(υστῶ) κ(αγκέλλω)
ἀρτά-
10 βας τεσσεράκοντα ἕξ
χοί(νικας) ῥκτῶ, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) μς χ(οίνικες) η.
(m. 2) Παράις
ξεξημέωμαι (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) μς χ(οίνικας) η.
(m. 3) Ξισσῶχος σεσημείωμε
ἀρτάβας τεσσεράκοντα
15 ἕξ χύνικες ὀκτώ. (m. 4) Πτολεμαῖ(ος)
σεσημείωμαι (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) τεσ(ς)αράκον-
τα ἕξ χοίνικας ὀκτώ,
(γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) μς χ(οίνικες) η. (m. 5) Ἀμμῶνις
καὶ οἱ μέτοχο(ι) ἐπισφραγ(ισται) συνεπε-
20 κολουθήκαμεν ταῖς τοῦ πυροῦ
ἀρτάβας τεσσεράκοντα ἕξ χοί-
νι(γ)κες ὀκτώ, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) μς χ(οίνικες) η.
13 l. σεσημείωμαι 15 l. χοίνικας 19 l. συνεπηκολουθήκαμεν 21 l. ἀρτάβαις; χοίνικιν

'Year three of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, Epeiph 22. Measured into the State granary through Diogenes and associate sitologi of the districts about Seryphis of the Western toparchy, from Mnesitheus and Dion(), both sons of Theon, acting through their tenant, Isocrates, to pay dues for Seryphis, forty-six artabas eight choenices altogether of three-month wheat measured by levelled public cancellus measure; total, 46 art. 8 ch. (m. 2) I, Parais, have signed for 46 art. 8 ch. of wheat. (m. 3) I, Sisuchus, have signed for forty-six artabas eight choenices. (m. 4) I, Ptolemaeus, have signed for forty-six artabas eight choenices of wheat, total 46 art. 8 ch. wheat. (m. 5) We, Ammonis and my associate sealing supervisors, have verified the forty-six artabas eight choenices of wheat, total 46 art. 8 ch. wheat.'

4 μεμέ(τρηνηται): or perhaps μεμέ(τρηται), which is written in full in XXXVIII 2872 and in two receipts soon to be published by R. A. Coles, despite a plurality of artabas in each case; a parallel among money receipts would then be found in such texts as XXXIV 2716-17, διεγράφη... δραχμῶν. But comparable Fayum receipts using the aorist regularly conjugate the verb correctly; cf. e.g. P. Théad. 26, 6.

4-10 μεμέ(τρηνηται)... ἀρτάβας: for accusative after the passive verb cf. P. Cair. Isid. 45, 7 note. 9 (πυροῦ) (τρημηνοῦ) κτλ.: cf. XXXVIII 2841, 8 note.

εὐπαντι: sc. λόγῳ; cf. P.S.I. VII 733, 17 note. The grammatically inexplicable εὐπαντα preferred in similar contexts in XII 1447, 4 note is supported only by the editor's revision of II 287, 6 as [εὐ]παντα, a reading which assumes that the final trace of the word is a needlessly raised *a* in the 'Hakenalpha' form. But the original interpretation of this trace as a simple abbreviation stroke is unobjectionable, so that here too [εὐ]παντ(ε) should be read.

3164. PETITION FROM A PRIEST (?)

30.4 B. 41 C/(1-4)b

13.0 × 15.5 cm.

4 September A.D. 73

This text, which is unfortunately incomplete at the top, is written on the front of a papyrus of fine quality and light colour. The back of the papyrus is blank. The text consists of a declaration made by a certain Sois to the effect that sacrifices have been made on behalf of the imperial household and a plea for accession to his requests; a plea which is reinforced by reference to the proper fulfilment of religious duties. This could be interpreted as an attempt to influence the authorities by the implicit threat of neglect, in much the same way as taxpayers refer to possible inability to continue paying taxes.

The content of the text and the term ἀναφόριον (13) suggest that this was a petition, and the references in the early lines, in so far as they are preserved, raise the possibility that Sois son of Teos was a priest in the service of the god Serapis (see 3 n.). This can comfortably fit the plentiful evidence, both in Ptolemaic and Roman times, for sacrifices on behalf of reigning monarchs made to recognized Graeco-Egyptian deities.

→ (m. 1) ἀγα[γ]εῖν α... [c. 15
τὸν θίασον καὶ [c. 12 τῆν]
ἱερὰν κλείνην ἐν[c. 15
θα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τ[c. 12 ἐπι-]
5 τελεεθῆναι ὑπ[έρ τῆς τοῦ ἡμετέρου]
θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Αὐτ[ο]κράτορος Καί[σα]ρος
Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ εὐπαν-
τος αὐτοῦ οἴκου τύχης τὰς θυσίας καὶ
εσπονδὰς. διὸ ἀξιῶ ἐὰν φαίνηται
10 ἐπιχωρηῆσαι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡξιωμένοις
πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν τῶν [εἰς] τὸ θεῖον
ἀνηκόντων παρεωρ[α]θῆναι. εὐτύχ(ει).
(m. 2) Ζόις Τεώτος ἐπιδέδωκα τὸ ἀνα-
φόριον. (ἔτους) 5 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανῶ δ'
15 Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ ζ.

7 l. εὐπαντος 12, εὐτυχ

'(lines 5 ff.) ... the fulfilment of sacrifices and libations on behalf of the fortune of our god and lord Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus and all his household. Therefore I ask, if it seems good, that you consent to my requests so that none of the things concerning the deity may be overlooked. Farewell. (2nd hand) I, Sois son of Teos, have handed in the petition. Year 6 of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, month Sebastos 7.'

1 I am not certain that there is really room for the restored gamma, but this seems the easiest way to make sense of the surviving letters. A reading of εἰμα is possible, but then it is difficult to find an explanation for αγα; I can find no word terminating in αγα which would fit the context.

2 This is the only occurrence of the word θίασος in papyri of the Roman period, so far as I can ascertain. For Ptolemaic references see SB III 6027, 6033, 6668, 6929, V 7578, 8873, P. Grenf. I 31 and Otto, *Priester und Tempel* 1, pp. 126-7, San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen* I 13-15. For a θίασος elsewhere in the Roman period, *AJA* 37 (1933) 215 ff.

3 The occurrence of the word κλείνη suggests strongly that the god Serapis is involved here and that Sois was a priest attached to his cult; the word seems to occur only in this connexion, e.g. XIV 1755, XII 1484, P. Osl. III 157, P. Yale 85; see Youtie, *HThR* 41 (1948) 9-29, Koenen, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 121-6.

4-9 For references to sacrifices on behalf of reigning monarchs and emperors see, for example, BGU I 1, II 362, iv. 11, 646, IV 1197, 1200, VIII 1768, P. Ryl. IV 557, SB IV 7457, *WChr.* 6, 70, P. *Amh.* II 35, *SPP* XXII 183, VI 923, VIII 1143, XXXVI 2782, *OGIS* 667.

3165. NOTE CONCERNING GRAIN PAYMENTS

P.Oxy. A 8/6D

5 × 7.5 cm.

Mid-second cent.

Memorandum to the effect that certain persons have made or received grain payments that are to be booked to their personal accounts or used to pay government dues.

17-19 The comparable passage in P. Mert. 75 runs: *θεμένη μοι τὸ ταύτης ἐκδόσιμον, ἐτελεύτησεν· ἄθεν ἐπιφέρων τοῦτο κτλ.*

26-7 This supplies a solution to the difficulty encountered by the editors in P. Mert 75. 26, where *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς λήξεως* can now be supplied.

27 In spite of the statement in P. Fuad I 32 introd. that 12 drachmas was the normal fee (followed by the editors of P. Mert. 75), the *stigma* is quite clear here and confirms the reading of the amount in P. Mert. 75. Since P. Fuad I 32 does mention a fee of 12 drachmas, the question of the 'normal' fee must be left open.

35 For a corrected reading of the docket in P. Mert. 75. 32-5 see L. C. Youtie, 'P. Mert. II 75: the Subscription', *ZPE* 6 (1970) 175-82. For *συγκολλησιμον* cf. P. Hamb. 18. An obvious guess for the second word is *λη[ξεων]*, but these and the following traces are too exiguous and abraded to admit any definite suggestion.

3167. APPLICATION FROM LYCOPOLITE VILLAGERS

31.4B.8/L (1-3)a

13.5 × 23 cm.

A.D. 195-8

An application to a strategus of the Lycopolite nome from the comarchs and cultivators of Nebna, requesting that instructions to permit them to irrigate their fields with water in storage after the recent flood be given to the appropriate authority. In support of this request are enclosed copies of two letters from previous years: in the first of these (9-13, A.D. 183-5) the strategus Hermippus is informed that orders to release water for Nebna have been issued by his correspondent; in the second (14-19, A.D. 195), the strategus Dioscorus apparently notifies his correspondent that he himself, in compliance with the latter's instructions, has authorized a local official to release the water. The tone adopted in these letters suggests that the correspondents of the strategi were persons of considerable standing in the nome bureaucracy, comparable perhaps to the Arsinoite *αἰγυαλοφύλαξ* or nome *λιμναστής* (P. Petaus 49 introd., 52 introd.); but there is no evidence concerning the Lycopolite irrigation officialdom except for the present text. It is not clear whether the two correspondents held the same position, nor whether the letters represent different administrative procedures or different stages of one process.

The straightforward manner in which the application was written suggests that the request was an ordinary one and not brought on by unusual circumstances; line 1 indicates that it was granted. No real parallel is known to me; cf. in general P. Ryl. II 81; P. Wisc. I 31, 32, 34 = 35; P. Mich. XI 617; A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 7-25; F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 185-95. The strategi named are new, as is the village of Nebna.¹

To judge by the imperial titles of lines 12-13, 18-19, and 19-20, approximately 60 letters have been lost from the papyrus; the surviving text therefore represents about one third of the original document. In the translation below, words enclosed in square brackets are intended as probable suggestions toward the sense of the lost text, since verbal restoration of the Greek is not possible and the sur-

¹ In P. Giss. I 82.5 there is mention of *Ἰβίων Νεβνά* (so accented) in the Apollonopolite nome near the Lycopolite border. Cf. also P. Giss. I 5.4; 15.3; 58 introd. p. 5; III 488. 3 (*Νεμνά*).

living words by themselves are not sufficiently extensive to yield an intelligible translation.

- (vac.) (m. 8) ἐπεστάλ(η)
 (m. 1) [c. 6] δῆι στρατηγῶι Λυκοπολείτου [
 [...] χων καὶ γεωργῶν κώμης Νέβ[να
 [c. 3 ὁ ἱερ]ώτατος Νεῖλος ἀποβῆ̄ ἐπαφέεσθαι τ[
 5 . . . μον εἰς τὰ ὑποκαθήμενα πεδία ἡμῶν τ[
 τοῦ οὖν Νείλου ἀποβάντος ἀξιοῦμεν ἐπιστ[
 ἀπολῦσαι ἡμῖν τὰ ὕδατα ὡς καὶ παντὶ τῷ χρ. [
 ἐπιστολῶν τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑπετάξαμεν [
 Ἐρμίππωι στρατηγῶι Λυκοπολείτου [
 10 ἐπέμψα, ἀδελφε, τὴν ἄφεςιν ποιῆ[σαι εἰς τὰ περὶ]
 Νέβνα ἐδάφη· ὅπερ ἴν' εἰδῆς, φίλτατε, [
 καὶ εἰκάδα. ἐρρώσθαι σε εὖχομαι. (ἔτους) κ, Αὐ-
 τοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κορμούδου]
 Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Ἀρμεν[α]κοῦ Μη[δικοῦ]
 ἄλλης ὁμοίως. Διόσκορος στρατηγὸς Λυ[κοπολείτου]
 15 πρὸς ἃ ἐπέστειλάς μοι ἐκ βιβλιδίου ἐπιδοθῆ[ντος
 τῶν ὑδάτων αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι ἀπὸ περιχώ[ματος τῶι ἐπὶ]
 λιμνασμοῦ τῶν τόπων τεταγμένωι ἐξα[
 ενε . . . ης διρικήσεως τῶν ὑδάτων. (ἔτους) δ [Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς
 Περτίνακος]
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβητικοῦ, Θῶθ κς. ἔ[τους] .
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου]
 20 Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος Σεβαστρῶ Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβ[ητικοῦ]
 (m. 2) Πυθέας Τιτιανοῦ ἐπιδέδωκα. (m. 3) Πααδελείς [
 (m. 4) Διδύμου ἐπιδέδωκα(a). (m. 5) Φιλαντήρους Ἀντισοεύς
 ἐπιδέδωκα.
 (m. 6) Δίδυμος Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιδέδωκα. (m. 7) Ἀπολλοδ.[

(8th hand) 'Instructions forwarded'.

(1st hand) 'To NN, strategus of the Lycopolite nome, [from the] . . . and cultivators of the village Nebna [of the same nome. It is customary that when] the most sacred Nile recedes, [its waters] be released [from the basins wherein they are stored] into our fields below them. Therefore, since the Nile has receded, we request that an order be sent [to the proper irrigation official] to release the water for us, as is done [. . . To support our request], we have appended a copy of [some relevant] letters.

'To Hermippus, strategus of the Lycopolite nome. . . I have sent orders, my brother, to have

[irrigation water] released for the fields around Nebna; for your information on this point, dearest friend, [I have sent you a copy of my order, dated on the] 2[.]th. I pray for your health. Year 2[.] of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Pius Armeniacus Medicus...

'(Copy of) another (letter) likewise. Dioscorus, strategus of the Lycopolite nome... In response to the instructions you sent me in accordance with the petition presented [by the villagers of... requesting that irrigation] water [be released] to them from the basin [... I have written] to the official placed in charge of the irrigation of the district [immediately to see to the proper] management of the water. Year 4 of Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus, Thoth 26.

'Year... of Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus...

(2nd hand) 'Submitted by me, Pytheas son of Titianus. (3rd hand) (Submitted by me,) Paadeleis... (4th hand) Submitted by me, NN son of Didymus. (5th hand) Submitted by me, Philantinous, Antinoite. (6th hand) Submitted by me, Didymus son of Apollonius...'

1 ἐπεστρά(η): grants the request made in line 6.

2 Possibly [γροῦ]χων, cf. S.B. IV 7361. 4 (revised in Z.P.E. 15 (1974) 149-52, παρὰ... καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν γεούχων καὶ δημοσίων γεωργῶν?).

5 . . . μου: γροῦ not suggested.

ὑποκαθήμενα: only here in papyri.

6 ἐπιστ[εῖλαι] or ἐπιστ[αλῆσαι].

7 χρ[ι]: χρῶ[σ]μένοι and χρῶ[σ]ναι, but not χρῶ[σ]οντι are possible.

8 After ὑπετάξασιν the space of two letters was left blank before the break on the right side. 12 καὶ εἰκόδα: no doubt a date, the 2[.]th of a month, but the accusative is not easy to account for. Restore perhaps something of the order of π[ρ]οσῆμα τοῦ ἀντίγραφου τοῦ ἐπιστάματός μου, κεραιζομένου εἰς τὴν... καὶ εἰκόδα.

The imperial titles used are compatible only with a date in Commodus's 24th or 25th year, A.D. 183/4 or 184/5.

16-17 τῶν ἐπὶ λυμνασμοῦ τῶν τόπων τεταγμένοι: cf. P. Petaus 52, introd. and line 8 note.

17 εἴσα[ι]: e.g., εἴσα[ι]τῆς.

18 ἐνε... ης: before θρομύσεως perhaps τῆς; then the preceding letter may be a, but ἐνεκα τῆς cannot be read.

18-19 (ἔτους) δ: because of the imperial titles this can only refer to year 4, not, e.g., δευτέρου or δεκάτου, of Septimius Severus. The date is 24 September A.D. 195.

19-20 This, the date of the petition as a whole, must be later than the enclosed letter of Thoth 26, year 4, but earlier than the association of Caracalla in the reign; possible therefore are A.D. 195-8.

3168. REGISTER OF LAND AND TAXES

28 4B.59/K(3)^a

30 × 23 cm.

Late second century

A fragment containing the top portions of the 92nd, 93rd and 94th columns of a list of persons holding parcels of private land, together with sums of money due for ναύβιον, ς () and χροικιμός, and a record of bank payments for these. An Hermopolite origin for the text is virtually assured by the mention of catoecic land 'not subject to demand' (ἀναίτητος) in lines 14-15 and 31 and by the specifically Hermopolite siglum for 'catoecic' used in lines 8, 12, 14 and 15. Three of the names of κληροῖ given recur in other Hermopolite texts (lines 4, 8, 34 notes); but positive identification is hardly possible, since several allotments in different areas may have borne the same name.

The land described falls into two classes: catoecic and εἶδους ἰδιοκτητῆτου, 'land classed

as privately acquired'. The latter term has not occurred previously, but may be compared with land ἐν τάξει ἰδιοκτητῆτου known for the Apollonopolite nome (W. Chr. 341. 15); cf. l. 7 note. Of regular catoecic land, more than 5 aruras were used for palm groves, all of which had become waterlogged (lines 2-3, 17-18, 21); 8½ were used for orchards, on 7½ aruras of which collection of taxes had been temporarily suspended (3-4, 10-11); and 12½ were used for vineyards (8, 12-14). An additional 5 aruras without further qualification were presumably grain land (9-10). Reckoned separately from the remainder of catoecic land was the ἀναίτητος (l. 14 note), of which 3 aruras of palm groves are mentioned in line 14 and a small amount of unknown planting is implied by line 31.

No evidence hitherto published has revealed the rate at which naubion was assessed in the Hermopolite nome, though the existence of the tax there is well attested (references in Wallace, p. 381, n. 63). It is apparent from this text that the Arsinoite distinction between ναύβιον κατοίκων and ναύβιον ἐναφεσίων was not applied, since in lines 7-11 the amount of εἶδους ἰδιοκτητῆτου is added together with catoecic land before the naubion is calculated. The assessment is stated in silver currency rather than in copper.

Allowing for the scribe's practice of rounding dues upward to the nearest ½ obol, one finds that the charges in lines 4, 11 and 14 (two instances) correspond to a rate of 3 obols per arura, equivalent to the Arsinoite rate of 150 copper drachmae per arura for ναύβιον ἐναφεσίων. In lines 3, 12, 18, 30, 36, 37 and almost certainly 47 (cf. note) the amount is 3 obols/arura plus 1 obol; in line 43, it is 3 obols/arura plus ½ obol. These excess amounts do not correspond to Arsinoite προδιαγραφόμενα, which was a percentage of the naubion; they are dependent directly on the land area taxed. The plus of ½ obol occurs on 1½ aruras. Leaving aside ἀναίτητος land, the smallest area on which a 1-obol plus occurs is 2½ or 2½ aruras (cf. 47 note), the largest 5½. The remaining lots, from 7½ aruras up, are precisely at 3 obols/arura.

Catoecic ἀναίτητος land apparently enjoyed a reduced rate for naubion: the 3 aruras of line 14 were assessed at 1½ dr. (3 ob./ar.) rather than the 1 dr. 4 ob. (3 ob./ar. + 1 ob.) expected on a lot of that size.

The tax abbreviated ς () is perhaps the familiar ς(υμβολικά), but other expansions such as ς(υπτάξεως) are more probable. Unlike Arsinoite ς(υμβολικά) (cf. P. Ryl. II 192, 10 n.; P. Teb. II 295. 12 n.), the assessment is related to land area, or to the naubion charged thereon. 1½ obols for ς () are charged on land which paid 2 dr. 2½ ob. naubion (39); 2½ ob. on land which paid 3 dr. 3½ ob. naubion (4); and 3 ob. on land which paid 4 dr. and 4 dr. 4½ ob. naubion (11 and 14). Cf. further 14 note.

Bank payments for these two charges are recorded under each entry, with dues on ἀναίτητος noted separately (15 and 31). A second hand has recorded payments made in years 17 and 18 (most probably of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 153/5, or of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 175-7) for an impost abbreviated ςχ () and ςχο (). Of the few words so beginning, only ςχο(ικιμός) is convincing as a tax. The charge has not occurred before, but cf. the common γεωμετρία and πηχικιμός (VI 917, introd.). The second hand has also made marginal notes of uncertain significance, chiefly concerning the payments in year 17.

The list is arranged alphabetically by first letter; the closest parallel is B.G.U. IX 1896 (Arsinoite nome). The text is remarkable for the variety of abbreviations and symbols used to express the same word; 3 forms of the half-obol sign appear, *παραδείσου* is abbreviated after π or after δ, *ἀναιτήτου* after ι or the first α, and 2 forms of the 'catoecic' symbol are found as well as the abbreviation κ(ατ)οικικός.

Effaced ends of lines from the 1st column (92nd of the original roll) are not reproduced here. On the back is an account concerning pigs.

In preparing this text I have had use of a preliminary transcript by E. P. Wegener. Col. ii

→

Πανετβ() "Ωρου μητρώ(ς) Ταπτῶ(τος) φ(οικικῶνος)
 ἐμβ(ρόχου) κ(ατ)οικ(ικου) ἐκ (του)δ
 Τρύφωνρ(ς) (ἄρουραι) β (ἥμισυ), ν(αυβίου)
 α (διώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον). π(αραδείσου) ἐν
 ἐποχ(ῆ) κ(ατ)οικ(ικου) ἐκ (του)δ
 Στράτω(νος) (ἄρουραι) ζή', ν(αυβίου) γ (τρι-
 ὄβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον), ς() (διώβολον)
 (ἡμιωβέλιον), (γίνονται) ε (διώβολον)
 (ἡμιωβέλιον).
 5 (m. 2) ιζ (ἔτ.) (m. 1) τρ(απέζης) Φαρμο(ῖθι) ἠ κο(λλήματος) σ̄ ε (δι-
 ωβ(ολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον). (m. 2) ιζ (ἔτους), 'Αθῦρ
 κγ̄ κρλ(λήματος) γ̄ ςχ(οικισμοῦ) (πεντώβολον).
 ιη (ἔτους), 'Αθῦρ κζ̄ κολ(λήματος) κδ̄ ςχ(οικισμοῦ)
 (πεντώβολον).
 (m. 1) Πολυδᾶς 'Ωρίωνο(ς) μη(τρός) Couερο(ῖτος) φ(οικι-
 κῶνος) ἐμβ(ρόχου) εἰδ(ους) ἰδιοκ(τήτου)
 ἐκ (του)δ Πολυκ() (ἄρουραι) β (ἥμισυ) d, ἀμπ(έλου)
 (κατοικικῆς) ἐκ (του)δ Φιλίςκ(ου) (ἀρούρης) δη',
 (γίνονται) γη'.
 κ(ατ)οικ(ικῆς) ἐκ (του)δ 'Αγαθοκ(λέους) Ταυρω()
 (ἄρουραι) β (ἥμισυ) d, Εὐβίο(υ) (ἀρούρης)
 (ἥμισυ) ις̄,
 10 ἄλ(λη) (ἄρουραι) α (ἥμισυ) ηἰς̄, (γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) ε,
 (γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) ηη'. παραδ(είσου) δις̄λβ̄,
 ἄλ(λη)ς δηλβ̄,
 ἄλ(λη)ς παραδ(είσου) (ἀρούρης) (ἥμισυ), (γίνονται)

(ἄρουραι) θδῆ', ν(αυβίου) δ (τετρώβολον)
 (ἡμιωβέλιον), ς() (τριώβολον).
 Τεχύμω(ς) ἀμπ(έλου) (κατοικικῆς) ἐκ (του)δ
 Πτολ() Μενεβούλ(ου) (ἄρουραι) δις̄, β (ὀβολός)
 (ἡμιωβέλιον)
 καὶ (πρότερον) Couεροῦτο(ς) Λεωνίδ(ου)
 'Ατείρω(ς) ἐκ (του)δ 'Αρομβ()
 (m. 2) ςχ(οι.) β (m. 1) (ἄρουραι) η, ν(αυβίου) δ, ς() (τριώβολον).
 (πεντ.?) (κατοικικῶ) φ(οικικῶνος) νε(ιλοβρόχου)
 ἀναι(τήτου) γ̄, (δραχμῆ) α (τριώβολον),
 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ιγ (τριώβολον).
 15 (m. 2) (ἄρουρ.). (m. 1) [τ]ρ(απέζης) Μεχειρ κο(λλήματος) ἠ (δραχμαὶ) ια
 (πεντώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον). (κατοικικῆς)
 ἀ(ναιτήτου) (δραχμῆ) α (τριώβολον), (γίνονται)
 (δραχμαὶ) ιγ (διώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).
 (m. 2) 'Αθῦρ κγ' κρλ(λήμ.) ιζ (ἔτους), 'Αθῦρ κγ̄ κολ(λήματος) ἰ ςχο(ικισμοῦ)
 ἰ ε [(ὀβ.) (ἡμ.)] ε (ὀβολός) (ἡμιωβέλιον), ιη (ἔτους), 'Αθῦρ κζ̄
 κολ(λήματος) κδ̄ ςχ(οικισμοῦ) β (πεντώβολον).
 (m. 1) Πολυκρ(άτης) 'Ωρεῖτο(ς) Μυσταρίο(νος) φ(οικικῶνος)
 ἐμβ(ρόχου) κ(ατ)οικ(ικου) ἐκ (του)δ Παρμε()
 (ἄρουραι) β (ἥμισυ), ν(αυβίου) α (διώβολον)
 (ἡμιωβέλιον).
 (m. 2) ιζ (ἔτ.) (m. 1) τρ(απέζης) Φαρμο(ῖθι) ιβ̄ κο(λλήματος) κ̄
 ςχ(οι.) (πεντ.) (δραχμῆ) α (διώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).
 (m. 2) ιζ (ἔτους), [Φαμ(ενώθ) κε] 'Αθῦρ κζ̄'
 20 κολ(λήματος) δ̄ ςχ(οικισμοῦ) (πεντώβολον).
 ιη (ἔτους), 'Αθῦρ λ̄ κολ(λήματος) λη̄ ςχ(οικισμοῦ)
 (πεντώβολον).
 (m. 1) Cωστρ() [.]... [.] μητρώ(ς) T.[.]... ρ() [φ(οικ-
 κῶνος) ἐμ]β(ρόχου) κ(ατ)οικ(ικου) ἐκ (του)δ
 Πάριδ(ος) κλ(ήρου)

Col. iii

- ϙδ
- 25 *Κεμθεῦς Ἀδράστου μη[τρὸς(ς)]*
εἰδ(ου)σ ἰδιοκ(τήτου) ἐκ το(ῦ) Πολυκ()
(ἄρουρ.) [
(γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) γῆ, ν(αυβίου) α (τετρώ-
βολον) (ἡμωβέλιον) (vac.) [
 (m. 2) *ιζ (ἔτους) (m. 1) τρ(απέξης) Φαρμο(ῦθι) ἡ κο(λλήματος) ζ̄ α (τετρώ-*
βολον). (m. 2) ιζ [(ἔτους) κο(λλήματος),
σχ(οῖνιμοῦ) α]
ιη (ἔτους) Ἀθῦρ κζ̄ κο(λλήματος) κῆ σχ(οῖνιμοῦ) α.
 (m. 1) *Κεμθεῦς Ἀρμυκίω(ς) Θε[*
ἐκ (τοῦ) Πτολ() Μιθ() (ἄρουρα) α (ἡμυ),
κ(ατ)ο[ι(κικ-) ἐκ (τοῦ) αδη,]
 30 *(γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) β (ἡμυ) ἀη', ν(αυβίου) α*
(τετρώβολον)[
τρ(απέξης) Φαρμο(ῦθι) ἡ κο(λλήματος) σ̄ α (δι-
ώβολον) (ἡμωβέλιον). (m. 2) ἀναι(τήτου)
(διώβολον) (ἡμωβέλιον?).
 (m. 1) *ιζ (ἔτους) Ἀθῦρ κῆ̄ κο(λλήματος) β̄ σχ(οῖνιμοῦ)*
(διώβολον) (ἡμωβέλιον) (δίχαλκον). ιῆ (ἔτους)
Ἀθῦρ λ̄ κο(λλήματος) λῆ̄ σχ(οῖνιμοῦ) (διώ-
βολον) (ἡμωβέλιον) (δίχαλκον)].
 (m. 1) *Κιμάριτος Ἀπολλων[*
κ(ατ)οι(κικ-) ἐκ (τοῦ) Μοσχίω(νος) (ἄρουρα) αd
ε[(ἄρουραι) β (ἡμυ) διςλβξδρκη,]
 35 *(γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) διςλβξδρκη. Κλειτάρχ[ου*
(γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) εdλβξδ[ρκη], ν(αυβίου) β
(πεντώβολον), c() .[
Ἐπιχάρο(ν) (ἄρουραι) β (ἡμυ), ν(αυβίου) α (διώ-
βολον) (ἡμωβέλιον) [
(ἄρουρα) αd, ἀλ(λη) α, (γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) βd[
ν(αυβίου) β (διώβολον) (ἡμωβέλιον), c() (ὀβολός)
(ἡμωβέλιον), (γίνονται?)]
 40 (m. 2) *ιζ (ἔτ.) (m. 1) τρ(απέξης) Παχών κῆ̄ κο(λλήματος) νῆ θ (ὀβολός).*

- σχ(ο.) α (τετρ.) (m. 2) ιζ (ἔτους) Ἀθῦρ κῆ̄ κο(λλήματος) ῑα σχ(οῖνιμοῦ) α*
(ἡμ.) (τετρώβολον) (ἡμωβέλιον). ιη (ἔτους) Ἀθῦρ
κζ̄ [κο(λλήματος) . σχ(οῖνιμοῦ) α (τετρώβολον)
(ἡμωβέλιον)].
Κύρος Ἀγαθοκλέ(ου)σ μητρὸς(ς) Τα. [
(ἄρουρα) α (ἡμυ), ν(αυβίου) (πεντώβολον).
τρ(απέξης) Φαρμο(ῦθι) ιβ̄ κο(λλήματος) ιζ̄
(πεντώβολον).
 45 *Κηθίων Ἀπεως τοῦ κ(αι) . [*
. . ε() νε(ιλοβρόχου) κ(ατ)οι(κικ-) ἐκ (τοῦ)
Μένω(νος) (ἄρουραι) γ (ἡμυ) d [
[ἐκ (τοῦ)] Μοσχίω(νος) (ἄρουραι?) βd, ν(αυβίου)
α (διώβολον?)]

Col. ii. '93. Paneth(), son of Horus and Taptos, 2½ aruras of flooded catoecic palm grove located in Tryphon's allotment, 1 dr. 2½ ob. for naubion. 7½ aruras of catoecic orchard on which taxes have been suspended, in Straton's allotment: 3 dr. 3½ ob. naubion, 2½ ob. for s(), total 5 dr. 2½ ob. Paid through the bank, Pharmouthi 8, column 6, 5 dr. 2½ ob. (2nd hand) Year 17, Hathyr 23, col. 3, 5 ob. measuring fees. Year 18, Hathyr 27, col. 24, 5 ob. measuring fees. (marginal note) Year 17, 5 ob. measuring fees.'

(1st hand) 'Polydas, son of Horion and Souerous, 2½ aruras of flooded palm grove classed as privately acquired in Polyc()'s allotment; ⅔ arura of catoecic vineyard in Philiscus's allotment; total, 3½ aruras. Catoecic (grain) land: 2½ aruras in the allotment of Agathocles son of Tauro(), ⅔ arura in Eubius's allotment, another parcel of 1½ aruras, total 5, grand total 8½. Orchard: ⅔ arura, another ⅔ arura, another ⅔ arura of orchard, total 9½ aruras, 4 dr. 4½ ob. naubion, 3 ob. s(). Techymis's land: 4½ aruras of catoecic vineyard in the allotment of Ptol() son of Menebulus, 2 dr. 1½ ob. And formerly belonging to Souerous, daughter of Leonides and granddaughter of Hateris, 8 aruras in Haromb()'s allotment, 4 dr. naubion, 3 ob. s(). 3 aruras of catoecic palm grove watered by the Nile, "not subject to demand": 1 dr. 3 ob. Total, 13 dr. 3 ob. Paid through the bank, Mecheir, col. 8, 11 dr. 5½ ob., and for catoecic land "not subject to demand" 1 dr. 3 ob., total 13 dr. 2½ ob. (2nd hand) Year 17, Hathyr 23, col. 10, 5 dr. 1½ ob. for measuring fees. Year 18, Hathyr 27, col. 24, 2 dr. 5 ob. measuring fees. (marginal note) 2 dr. 5 ob. measuring fees. arur. . . . Hathyr 23, col. 10, 5 dr. 1½ ob.'

(1st hand) 'Polycrates, son of Horeis, grandson of Mysterion, 2½ aruras of flooded catoecic palm grove in the allotment of Parme(), 1 dr. 2½ ob. naubion. Paid through the bank, Pharmouthi 12, col. 20, 1 dr. 2½ ob. (2nd hand) Year 17, Hathyr 27, col. 4, 5 ob. measuring fees. Year 18, Hathyr 30, col. 38, 5 ob. measuring fees. (marginal note) Year 17, 5 ob. measuring fees.'

The remainder is too mutilated for continuous translation.

2 φ(οικκῶνος): φ written with no mark of abbreviation; cf. P. Ryl. II 82. 6 note.

2-3 ἐκ (τοῦ) Τρύφωνος(ς): sc. κλήρου, the allotment named after Tryphon. For the manner of abbreviating τοῦ by raising the κ of ἐκ, cf. e.g. the frequent τὸ (πάν), ἀνὰ (μέρον), μεθ' (ἡν), ἀνθ' (οῦ). In line 24, ἐκ το(ῦ) is used.

3 ἐν ἐποχ(ῆ): said of land on which the government had temporarily suspended collection of taxes; cf. the references in P. Teb. II 337. 2; P. Giss. 48. 11; and P. Ryl. II 214. 34.¹ But the taxes

¹ To which P. Mich. Michael (diss. Ann Arbor 1966) 15. 4 may be added.

assessed on this land were actually paid in line 5. Cf. P. Teb. 337 for the explanation of a similar occurrence (taxes collected *πρὸ τοῦ ἐπισηθῆναι*, line 4).

In *ν(αυβλου)* the second element of the abbreviation resembles the Hermopolite compendium for *δ αὐτός*. It might therefore have been more correct to expand it as *ναυ(βλου)* throughout.

4 *Στράτω(νος)*: an Hermopolite allotment of this name is mentioned in *Archiv* IV (1908) 131, l. 23.

5 *τρ(απέτης)*: cf. e.g. B.G.U. IX 1896. 35-7 note; P. Ryl. II 185 and 188; P. Prince. I 9; XII 1434. The expansion is based on P. Princ. I 8 iv. 6 and 10, *τῆ(ς) τ(ραπέτης)*.

7 *εἰδ(ου)* *ἰδιοκ(τήτου)*: cf. introd. The point of *εἰδ(ου)* is presumably similar to that of *τάξ(ις)* in the phrase *βασιλ(ικῆς) ἐν τάξει ἰδιοκ(τήτου) ἀναγρα(φομένης)* (W. Chr. 341. 15): that the land was for fiscal purposes treated as *ἰδιόκτητος*, but was not necessarily such by origin. Cf. the *τάξ(ις) ἰδιωτικῆς* of *ᾤῖP* 17 (1971) 33-44, which is composed of more than simply *ἰδιωτικῆς*.

8 *Πολυκ()*: cf. line 24.
(*κατοικικῆς*): see *app. crit.* For a theory on the origin of this symbol, see Wilcken, *Archiv* 5 (1913) 184-5; it has thus far occurred only in papyri from the Hermopolite nome. The c-like hook which forms the final element of the sign in this text has apparently not been found before.

9 *Φυλίσ(ου)*: cf. C. P. Herm. 7 ii. 24; P. Flor. I 41. 3.
12 *Τεχύμω(ς)*: i.e., this is land owned by Techymis, but on which Polydas must pay the taxes by terms of a lease or for other cause. Less probably, because not introduced by *καὶ (πρότερον)*, the former owner of the land. Hardly a geographic subdivision (e.g. *γῆς* or *περίχωμα*) where the land was located, since no other such is named in the text.

It is unnecessary to insert *ν(αυβλου)* before *β(όβολος) (ἡμωβέλου)*; cf. line 14, end; 26, marginalia.

14 *ἀναίτη(του)*: cf. P. Ryl. II 164. 4 note; P. Vindob. Boswinkel 3. 10 note. This type of cateoic land is not attested outside the Hermopolite nome, and has hitherto been known only from the formula *γῆς κατοικικῆς ἀναίτη(του) ἀρουραι*; the significance of the name is unclear. In the present text *ἀναίτητος* is the last category of land listed in a given entry, and taxes paid on it are recorded separately (cf. lines 15 and 31). The rate of naubion charged is apparently lower than that for other land; cf. introd. Absence of a sum for *c()* in this line is perhaps insignificant, since that charge may not have fallen on lots so small as 3 aruras in any case: the smallest payment for *c()* recorded (line 49) is accompanied by a naubion payment of 2 dr. 2½ ob., which corresponds to about 4½ aruras.

15 (*δραχμαί*) *ια (πεντάβολον) (ἡμωβέλου)*: this payment is inexplicably short by ½ obol; cf. lines 26 and 31.

16 The reason for the different payments for *χωρικῶς* in years 17 and 18 is not apparent. No aid can be had from the remnants of the marginalia.

21 *Ωστρ()*: *Ωστρ(ατος)* or *Ωστρ(άτη)*.
25 (*ἀρουραι*) *γῆ*: the expected figure if the naubion equalled 3 obols/arura + 1 obol; but the papyrus has been stripped at this point so that a reading cannot really be verified.

26 *α (πεντάβολον)*: ½ obol short of the assessment in line 25; cf. lines 15 and 31.
30 The *ἀναίτητος* land for which a payment is made in l. 31 was no doubt mentioned at the end of this line.

31 *α (διώβολον) (ἡμωβέλου)*: 1½ obols short of the assessment in line 30; cf. 15, 26.
34 *Μοσχίω(νος)*: cf. P. Flor. I 64. 40.

ε[] *ε[κ(τῶν)]* or *Ε[]*, the name of the cleric. Not (*διώβολον) (ἡμωβέλου)*.
34-35 The arithmetic is: $1\frac{1}{4} + 2\frac{1}{8} = 4\frac{1}{8}$.

35 Because of the correction in line 36 it is pointless to try to restore a figure here.
39 After (*γίνονται*) one probably expects not the total of 2 dr. 2½ ob. + 1½ ob., but the total of all money sums in this entry; so l. 4.

47 *α (διώβολον?)*: only a single obol stroke after *α* is preserved today, under and after which the papyrus has crumbled away. This would correspond to a rate of exactly 3 obols/arura. One expects a higher sum than that, and Miss Wegener's early transcript in fact reads *α = (1 dr. 2 ob.)*.

3169. ACCOUNT OF GRAIN

37 3 B. 87/G (1-11) recto Between A.D. 174 and A.D. 212
(a) 66 × 31 cm. (b) 36 × 31 cm. (c) 5.5 × 16 cm. (d) 4 × 6 cm.

Seven mutilated columns pieced together from many fragments of what must once have been a very extensive document. Its title is lost, but as the format is identical with that of XII 1444 and 1525-26, there can be no doubt that it too represents a *λόγος κατ' ἀνδρα χειριστικοῦ πυροῦ*, a detailed account of wheat giro-transfers, prepared by the granary administration for the strategus. Cf. also the papyrus cited in the introduction to P. Mich. XI 616, note 1.¹ A *terminus post quem* for the text is provided by references to the heirs of Dionysius also called Amois in lines 181 and 196: P. Fouad 32. 17-18 shows that this man was still alive in A.D. 174. The singling out of only three individuals as Aurelii (150, 151, 240) points to a date before the Constitutio Antoniniana in A.D. 212. Probable mentions of the Oxyrhynchite metropolitan scribe of A.D. 154 (143 n.) and of Claudia Isidora (l. 184 n.), whose property had been confiscated by c. A.D. 225 (XXXI 2566), are compatible with a date within the limits of A.D. 174 and 212.

The text records quantities of wheat paid into or out of various accounts, which are listed according to no discoverable ordering principle. Account holders are usually individuals or groups of individuals (e.g. 60, 80), but the income of property confiscated by the state is recorded as *θέμα* in the name of the fiscus (48-52; 58). Records of disbursements, always by giro-transfer, take a characteristic form as sub-lists headed by the name of the account flush with the margin of the column, followed by the total of wheat expended; under this, sharply set in from the left, is given a list of payees in the dative, plus the purpose and amount of each payment. Payments received are indicated with the recipient's name in the nominative, followed by the purpose and amount of the payment.

As in the parallel documents, payments are divided between *θέματα*, private deposits which remained at the free disposal of the individual, and state dues. Specific taxes are named, e.g., in ll. 12, 32, 274, 275. More often we are told only the village to whose account the grain was credited, and whether the taxpayer was to be found on the roll of villagers or of metropolitans (cf. 2 n.; 3181, 5 n.). In these cases the payment was certainly rent for land leased from the state or tax on private holdings located in the area of the village named. Such payments were handled for widely separated communities: Senao, Pella and Seryphis were in the western toparchy; Tychinekotis in the eastern; Geme (so always in this text rather than the phonetically equivalent Ieme), Senepa, Petne and probably Sennis (2 n.) in the central. The location of Psinaranachthis (121) is not known.

Certain features of the document indicate that there was an official attempt to have each account title correspond with a convenient taxing unit, with the result that land holdings of the contributors were reflected in the organization of the granary accounts. Thus landlords with several tenants on different plots maintained an account for each, in

¹ And P.Erl. 44.

the form 'landlord διὰ tenant' (e.g. 77 ff. and 115 ff.; 48-52; 155 n.). An individual's death, or the alienation of his property by confiscation or otherwise, did not result in the immediate extinction of his account. Instead, this was maintained under the title κληρονόμοι in the case of death, otherwise as πρότερον τοῦ δέινος, as this form of entry simplified review of the accounts for taxation purposes.

The economic importance of metropolitans in this text far exceeds their numbers (at least 23, probably no more than 30 persons). The total figures of grain handled are:

Col. i (mutilated, but in excess of)	63½ art., 9 ch.
ii (l. 84)	248½ art., 3 ch.
iii (l. 123)	225 art.
iv _____	
v (mutilated, but in excess of)	247½ art., 7 ch.
vi (l. 248)	154½ art., 9 ch.
vii _____	
Total in excess of	938½ art., 8 ch.

Of this the recoverable figures for the metropolitans account for 366½ art., 4 ch., more than a third of the total.

It would be unsafe to take these figures as reflecting the true economic situation of the nome. This account ignores all payments except those by banking transaction, whereas most small farmers presumably paid their taxes directly in kind. Certainly the situation in fourth-century Karanis was more favourable than the data presented here would, if valid, indicate for the second/third-century Oxyrhynchite nome. Cf. P. Cair. Isid. p. 79.

The account was reviewed by a second hand which added before each name a number which may represent the day on which the transaction took place or the kollema of a document which recorded it (l. 45 n.). This hand is further responsible for the slanting check stroke to the left of each entry, for the totals written at the bottom of each column, and for occasional corrections and additions to the text (54 ff., 209, 225). This or a third hand placed a heavy checking dot to the upper right of each quantity paid.

The sequence of the four main fragments can no longer be determined. The order in the text is arbitrary.

On the back, occasionally extending on to the front, are work notes concerning the granary at Sinary (3170).

(frag. a)

Col. i		
→ []	ς Πανάρου	(ἀρτ.) ς
	(ὄν) δι(ασταλείσαι)] εἰντῶ	Κέννεως κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) β·
	εἰντῶ	Κένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) δ·
	['Α]φύγχιος Κέννεως [.]	κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) ςδ χ(οί.) β·
5 []	ευ.[.] . . . τῆ(ς) α(ὐτῆς)	κώ(μης) χ(οί.) γ·

	[]	. π. . . νιας Τεεῦτος Κένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) δ·
	[ ]	]λεμιδος Κένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ῆμ.)·
	[ ]	] Κέννεως κώ(μης) []·
	[ ]	] α.[.] . . . [.] Ζένεως κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ῆμ.) χ(οί.) η·
10 []	[]	Κένεπτα κώ(μης) {(ἀρτ.)} χ(οί.) β·
	[]	Κένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) δ χ(οί.) []·
	[]	ἐπι]κλας(μῶν) Κέννεως κώ(μης) . . .
	[]	Κένεπτα κώ(μης) δ χ(οί.) β·
	[ ]	] . τψ Ζένε[πτα] κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α χ(οί.) β·
15 []	[]	Κένε[πτα] κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.?) . χ(οί.) δ·
	[ ]	] (ἀρτ.) ε
	[]	(ὄν) δι(αστ.)] κώ(μης)] (ἀρτ.) β·
	[ ]	] (ἀρτ.) γ·
	[ ]	] κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ῆμ.) χ(οί.) [
20 [ ]	[ ]	] . Κένεπτα κώ(μης) δ χ(οί.) η·
	[ ]	] οντῶτος (ἀρτ.) θ
	[]	(ὄν) δι(αστ.) Κέν]νεως κώ(μης) [
	[]	Κέν]επτα κώ(μης) [
	[ ]	] . ρου (ἀρτ.) β
25 []	[]	(ὄν) δι(αστ.) Κένε]πτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α [(ῆμ.)] δ χ(οί.) β·
	[ ]	] Κένεπτα κώ(μης) χ(οί.) η·
	[ ]	] [(ἀρτ.) .] (ἀρτ.) ιγ χ(οί.) η
	[]	(ὄν) δι(αστ.)] πόλεως (ἀρτ.) ιβ χ(οί.) δ·
	[ ]	] ἡ α(ὐτῆ) πόλεως {(ἀρτ.)} χ(οί.) δ·
30 [ ]	[ ]	] Γεμη πόλεως (ἀρτ.) α·
	[ ]	] (ἀρτ.) ςδ χ(οί.) δ
	[]	(ὄν) δι(αστ.) συν]τά(ξεως) Γεμη κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α η·
	[]	συντ]ά(ξεως) Κέννεως κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) βδ χ(οί.) θ·
	[ ]	] ερσίτ(ος) Κέννεως κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ῆμ.) χ(οί.) β·
35 [ ]	[ ]	] ον Κέννεως πόλ(εως) (ἀρτ.) β χ(οί.) η·
	[]	Πτολε]μαίου Κέννεως κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) αδ χ(οί.) β·
	[]	Κένεπ]τα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) δ χ(οί.) .
	[]	μη]τρ(ος) Μαρούτος Κένεπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) δ χ(οί.) .
	[]	μη]τρ(ος) Ταύριος (ἀρτ.) (ῆμ.) δ χ(οί.) δ
40 []	[]	(ὄν) δι(αστ.) Κένεπ]τα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ῆμ.) δ·

Κέννω[ς κώ(μης) [(ἀρτ.) d χ(οί.)] δ·
[(ἀρτ.) . .] δd χ(οί.) ζ

29 I. τῆς αὐτῆς

Col. ii

-] Βῆς Πολ[. . . .] Cε[ν]ε[π]τα?
Ζωίλος Ζωίλου [. .] ρ τα. [. .] [(ἀρτ.)]
- 45 δ/(ὦν) δι(ακτ.) ἑαυτῶ Κέννω[ς κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.?) ι·
ἑαυτῶ Κέννω[ς κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) β (ἦμ.) d χ(οί.)]
υ/Σαραπίου Βηκᾶτος Σεπέπτα κώ(μης) d·
ζ/(πρότερον) κλ(ηρονόμων) Σεουήρου, νυνεὶ δὲ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου τα-
μείου δι(ὰ) Σερήνου γεωργ(οῦ) θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) ξδ (ἦμ.)·
- 50 ε/καὶ δι(ὰ) Κυρίωνος γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ [T]αμπιτὶ θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) β·
ὄμ(οίως) καὶ δι(ὰ) Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κοπρέως ἀπὸ τοῦ Νόμου ἔποικ(ίου)
θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) α (ἦμ.) d·
ὄμ(οίως) καὶ δι(ὰ) Ἰερέως γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ τοῦ Νόμου ἔποικ(ίου)
θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) ξθ·
η/Βησαρίων ὁ καὶ Προφήτης δι(ὰ) Ἰερέως Ζωίλ[ου] θέ(ματος)
(ἀρτ.) μ·
υ/Θατρής Πολυδάτος Σεπέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (m. 2) (ἦμ.) d·
- 55 (m. 2) Cέγγεως
(m. 2) θd χ(οί.) [β]
(m. 2) δ/ἡ αὐτῆ Κέννω[ς [κώ(μης) [(ἀρτ.) θ?]d χ(οί.) β·
ζ/(m. 1) (πρότερον) κλ(ηρονόμων) Σεουήρου {Σεουήρου}, νυνεὶ δὲ τοῦ
ἱερωτάτου
ταμείου δι(ὰ) Κοπρέως γεωργ(οῦ) [θέ(ματος)
60 δ/κλ(ηρονόμοι) Σαραπίου Πνεφερότος Κέννω[ς
η/κλ(ηρονόμοι) Θεοφίλας Πρόκλου δι(ὰ) Ἀμμωνίου γεωργ(οῦ) [
υ/Θεωνίλλα Φωκᾶτος Πέλα πό[λ]εως σὺν ἐπικλαμοῖς [
]/Διογενὶς Ἰερ[α]κίωτος Γεμῆ [κώ(μης) [
]/Ζωίλος Δομιτρίου καὶ Τενθεύ[ς
65 ./Κορήλις Σαραπίου Σεπέπτα
]/ὁ αὐτὸς Κέννω[ς [
./Παμβῆκις Παμβήκιος Κέννω[ς
ε/Πτολεμαῖος Πύρου Σεναὶ σντά(ξεως) κώ(μης)
ι/Ἀφύγκις Ἀμότος Σεπέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α·

- 70 δ/Ὀνωφρις Ζωίλου Κέννω[ς κώ(μης) χ(οί.) σ·
ς/Θέων Δημητρίου δι(ὰ) Βηκᾶτος γεωργ(οῦ) Σεπέπτα πόλεως (ἀρτ.?) ι·
α/Θαιζᾶς Ἐρμογένους Κέννω[ς πόλεως (ἀρτ.) γd χ(οί.) σ·
δ/Τααφύγκις Ἐρμογένους Κέννω[ς κώ(μης) χ(οί.) θ·
ι/ἡ αὐτῆ Σεπέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἦμ.)·
- 75 δ/Παμβῆκις Ζωίλου Κέννω[ς κώ(μης) (ἦμ.) d χ(οί.) σ·
ι/ὁ αὐτ[ὸς] Σεπέπτα κώ(μης) χ(οί.) η·
Σαραπίου ἡ καὶ Θαισοῦς δι(ὰ) Πτόλλιδος γεωργ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) id
ε/(ὦν) δι(ακτ.) ἑαυτῶ Γεμῆ πόλεως σὺν ἐπικλαμοῖς (ἀρτ.) s
(ἦμ.) d χ(οί.) η·
ς/ἑαυτῆ Σεπέπτα πόλ(εως) σὺν ἐπικλαμοῖς (ἀρτ.) ζ χ(οί.) β·
- 80 ις/Πτολλίον καὶ Πεκδῖος καὶ Διονύσιος σντά(ξεως) Γεμῆ κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.)
δ (ἦμ.) [
α/Θαιζᾶς Ἐρμογένους Κέννω[ς πόλεως (ἦμ.) d χ(οί.) β[·]
δ/Τααλῶς Ὡρου Κέννω[ς κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α χ(οί.) γ·
ι/ἡ αὐτῆ Σε[] κώ(μης) d χ(οί.) γ·
(ἀρτ.) Cμηd χ(οί.) γ

58 ἱερωτάτου 64 δομ'τιου 72 θαΐσας 77 θαΐσους 81 θαΐσας

Col. iii

- 85]·[
Cε[ν]ε[π]τα []
ὄμ(οίως) ἑαυτῶ Ἀμ[. . C]επέπτα [π]όλεως (ἀρτ.) [. . . .]
'Α]νδρόμαχος Ἀπερώτος καὶ Λούκις Π[. . . .]ς
]/καὶ οἱ μέτοχοι κ() Σεπέπτα πόλ[εως] (ἀρτ.) μγ·
- 90] Περωνία χρη[ματίζουσα] μητ(ρός) Πολυδοῦτος θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) κγ
(ἦμ.)·
]/Ἀπολλώνιος ἀλέτης Κέννω[ς κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α (ἦμ.)·
]/κλ(ηρονόμοι) Πνεφερότος Πασιώνος Κέννω[ς κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) δ·
]/Πτολεμαῖος Φιλοστράτου Κέν[ε]ω[ς] κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α (ἦμ.) χ(οί.) θ·
δ/Ἰε[ρ]εὺς Παπονᾶτος σντά(ξεως) Πετηνὴ κώ(μης) χ(οί.) δ·
- 95]/Ἰουλίς Δημητρία καὶ Λουκία Γαίου ,σας δι(ὰ)
Πετριούθως γεωργ(οῦ) θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) β·
] Δάσκορος Εὐδαίμονος σντά(ξεως) Πετηνῆ] κώ(μης) d χ(οί.) σ·
. . . .] ,ς καὶ Πεκρούρις σντά(ξεως) Πετηνὴ κώ(μης) (ἦμ.?) d χ(οί.) β·
. . . . Π]τολλᾶτος καὶ Πολυδάς Ζωιλ[] κώ(μης) (ἦμ.?) d χ(οί.) β·

- 160 ...]τας Διονύτος *Σένεως* πόλεως (ἀρτ.) βδ χ(οί.) γ·
 ó α]τύτος *Σενέπτα* κ() κώ(μης) δ χ(οί.) β·
 ...]αίος *Προεφω* () *Σενέπτα* κώ(μης) δ χ(οί.) σ·
 ...]λλους *Σένεως* κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἤμ.)·
Πατάς] *Κελλαροῦτος* (ἀρτ.) ζδ χ(οί.) σ
- 165 α/(ὄν) δι(ακτ.) *Κελλαροῦτι Γεμή* κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) δ η'·
 έ/τῆ] α(ὕτῆ) *Γεμή* κώ(μης) . . η'·
 έ]αυτῶ *Πατάτι Σένεως* κώ(μης) [. . .]
 ...]αμῶνι *πρεβ(υτέρω) Παποντῶτος*
Σενέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) β χ(οί.)·
 170] *Θαίδι Βησῆτος Σένεως* κώ(μης) δ χ(οί.) σ·
 ...]· έξῆγητ[ύσα]ς θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) [
 ... Δ]ημήτριος c. 12] . . . (ἀρτ.) [] β
 (ὄν) δι(ακτ.) [πόλεως] cὺν έ(πικλασμοίς) (ἀρτ.) λ (ἤμ.)? φ[
 πόλεως c]ῆν έ(πικλασμοίς) (ἀρτ.) θ (ἤμ.) [
- 175]· (ἀρτ.) η (ἤμ.) χ(οί.)[
]· (ἀρτ.) κ (ἤμ.) χ(οί.)[
]αυτῶ *Τυχ[ι]γνεκῶτ[εως πόλ]εως*
 cὺν έ(πικ[λασμοίς] καὶ παραφορέτρω (ἀρτ.) υγ []
]ε· τω *Σενέπτα* κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) γδ []·
 180]υτῶ *Σενέπτα* πόλεως (ἀρτ.) νγ (ἤμ.) []
 κλ]η(ρονόμοις) *Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀμόι* Ἡρακλεῖδου *Σένεως* [·] πόλεως
 (ἀρτ.) β χ(οί.) σ·
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς *Σενέπτα* πόλεως cὺν [έ(πικλασμοίς)] (ἀρτ.) β (ἤμ.)?
 χ(οί.) δ·
Κλαυδία? Ἰσιδώρα ἡ λαμπροτάτη δι(ὰ) [. . .] . . . ους
- 185] θέ(ματος) (ἀρτ.) κς (ἤμ.)·
] *Θέωνος* (ἀρτ.) μα (ἤμ.)
 ε/(ὄν) δι(ακτ.) έαυτῶ *Γεμή* πόλεως cὺν έ(πικ[λασμοίς] (ἀρτ.)?) [
 όμ(οίως)]έαυτῶ *Σεναὶ* πόλεως [c]ῆν έ(πικλασμοίς) (ἀρτ.)? . . .
 s]έαυτῶ *Σενέπτα* πόλ(εως) cὺν έ(πικλασμοίς) (ἀρτ.) φ χ(οί.) δ·
- 190 όμ(οίως)]Ἀνία τῆ καὶ Ἰσιδώρα *Σενέπτα* πρόλ(εως) cὺν έ(πικλασμοίς) (ἀρτ.)
 γδ χ(οί.) δ·
]/(πρότερον) *Χαιρήμονος Πρίμου*] *Σενέπτα* πόλεως (ἀρτ.) α χ(οί.) η·
]/(πρότερον) *Βησῆ* τοῦ καὶ *Βησαρίωνος* . . . δι(ὰ) έπιτη(ρητῶν)

- Σεναὶ* πόλεως (ἤμ.) δ χ(οί.) δ·
 όμ(οίως) *Σαραπίωνι τῶ καὶ Γαλλίω* καὶ (πρότερον) *Θαικοῦτ(ος)*
 195 *Σένεως* πόλεως (ἀρτ.) ιη (ἤμ.) χ(οί.) γ·
] τῶ α(ὕτῶ) (πρότερον?) *Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀμόι*
Σενέπτα πόλεως cὺν έ(πικλασμοίς) (ἀρτ.) δ (ἤμ.) χ(οί.) σ·
]/τῶ α(ὕτῶ) [τ]ῆ(ε) α(ὕτῆς) cὺν έ(πικλασμοίς) πόλεως δ χ(οί.) γ·
]/τῶ α(ὕτῶ) *Σένεως* π[όλεως] cὺν έ(πικλασμοίς) (ἀρτ.) βδ χ(οί.) β·
 200]ετ[εῦ]τι Ἀ]πόλλων[ος Σε]γ[έ]πτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) β·
 τ]ῶ α(ὕτῶ) Ἀπ[όλλ]ωνι Γ[] *Σεναὶ* [κώ(μης)] (ἀρτ.) βη'·
] (πρότερον?) *Βησῆ* τ[οῦ κ]αὶ *Βησαρίωνος* . . . (?) δι(ὰ) έπιτη(ρητῶν)
 [Σεν]αὶ [πόλεως (ἀρτ.)]. δ χ(οί.) [. . .]
 []]
- 157 τῶ corrected from ε 168 ω in αμῶνι corrected from ν 170 θαῖδι 184 and 190
 ἰσιδώρα
 Col. vi
- 205 (πρότερον) *Χαιρήμονος Πρίμου Σενέπτα* πόλ(εως) (ἀρτ.) βδ χ(οί.) σ·
 Ἀπιανῶ (?) τ]ῶ καὶ *Κλ() Σένεως* πόλ(εως) cὺν έ(πικλασμοίς) δ χ(οί.) σ·
 τῶ α(ὕτῶ) *Γεμή* πόλεως . . .
 κε/(πρότερον) Ἡ[ρακ]λεῖδου] *Κτησῆτος* δι(ὰ) *Χαιρήμονος* Ἡρακλεῖδου
Σερέφως πόλ(εως) . . []
 (m. 2) ζῆ(τησον) α (ἤμ.) δ
- 210 (m. 1) θ/Ἀτ[. . .]ς *Βησῆτος Σενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 γ/Κάστωρ Ἀμείτος *Σένεως* κώ(μης) [
 θ/ό αὐτὸς *Κάστωρ Σενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 όμ(οίως) *Σενθεῦς Σενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 όμ(οίως)/ἡ αὐτῆ *Σ[ε]νέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 215 όμ(οίως)/*Ταννοῦθις Σενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 όμ(οίως) *Διόσκορος Εὔδαιμωνος Σενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 υγ/Ἀπόλλω[ν] Ἀφ[ύ]γχιος *συντά(ξεως) Γεμή* κώ(μης) [
 θ/Κο[πρ]εῖς Ἀμόιτος *Σενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 15/Δ.[c. 8] *Δημητρία Σενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 220 η/Λο[ύ]κιος *Σ[ε]πτιμῖος Λουκιλλιανός* θέ(ματος) [
 κθ/Τα[. . . .] cce[. . .]αρίου *Σενέπτα* κώ(μης) [
 ./Πε[c. 12]ου [(ἀρτ.)
 (ὄν)]/δι(ακτ.) έαυ[τ]ῶ *συντά(ξεως) Γ[εμ]ῆ* [κώ(μης)

- 225]έαντῶ/. . [.] *Κενέπτα* []·
 (m. 2) . () χ(οί.) δ [/] (m. 1) κλη(ρονόμους) Διο[σκ]όρου Ἄγην[ορ]]·
Παμ[οῦν]ις Ζω[ἰ]λου [(ἀρτ.)
]/(ὄν)/δι(ακτ.) έαντῶ συντά(ξεως) Γεμη κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἡμ.) η'·
θ/Ταπειοσίρι Κενέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α d χ(οί.) σ·
ὄμ(οίως)/έαντῶ Παμοῦνι Κενέπτα κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) (ἡμ.) χ(οί.) γ·
 230 γ/έαντῶ *Κένεως* κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α d χ(οί.) ζ·
 γ/Ταβηῶς *Σαραπᾶτος Κένεως* κώ(μης) σὺν ἐ(πικλασμοῖς) []
]/Ἱερεῖ[ς] Ζωῖλου *Κενέπτα* [κώ(μης)] κώ(μης) []
] Ἀπολλ[ῶν]ις τέκτων συντά(ξεως) Γεμη κώ(μης) []
ὄμ(οίως)/Τεθε[ῖς] διὰ Ἄπει τοῦ καὶ Ζωῖλου Γεμη κώ(μης) []
 235 *ὄμ(οίως)/Κοπρ[εῦ]ς πρεβ(ύτερος) συντά(ξεως) Γεμη κώ(μης) []*
θ/Διονόσιος Ποτάμωνος Κενέπτα κώ(μης) []
ὄμ(οίως)/Κοπρ[εῦς] πρεβ(ύτερος) Κενέπτα κώ(μης) []
ὄμ(οίως)/Τανρ[ο]ῦθις Κενέπτα κώ(μης) []
ὄμ(οίως) Τε . . . λοκουσ δι(ὰ) Ἀτρήτος Κενέπτα κώ(μης) []
 240 *Αὐρηλία Πτολεμαῖς ἡ καὶ Ἀρτεμιδώρα* [(ἀρτ.)
ι/(ὄν) δι(ακτ.) έαντῆ Γεμη πόλεως (ἀρτ.) ι (ἡμ.) d χ(οί.) γ·
 γ/Παμβῆκι Φανίωνος *Κένεως* κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α (ἡμ.) d η'·
 α/Τε[. . .] *Κέν<ν>εως πόλεως* (ἀρτ.) β (ἡμ.) d η'·
 γ/ πρεβ(β(ντέρω)] *Κένεως* κώ(μης) β (ἡμ.)·
 245 θ/τῶ α(ὑτῶ) [C]ενέπτ[α] κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) α·
 / c. 7] *Ζε[νέπτ]α* κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) η d χ(οί.) ζ·
 c. 14]φύγιος *Κενέπτα* κώ(μης) (ἀρτ.) δ·
 (ἀρτ.) ρηδ χ(οί.) θ

232 Ἱερεῖς 240 πολεμαῖς

(frag. c)

Col. vii

- . . λ[]
 250] Πατ[]
 δ/(ὄν) δι(ακτ.)[]
 ι/έα[ντῶ]
] . . [.] ωρις . []
]/(ὄν) δι(ακτ.)[]
 255] Ἀπια[]

- . . c []
] C[]
 κθ/(ὄν) δι(ακτ.) [έαν]τῆ Π[]
]/έπικλας(μῶν) έαντῆ []
 260 ιε/έαντῆ έπικλας(μῶν) []
]] ος Πάσιτος []
 ις/(ὄν) δι(ακτ.) έαν[τῶ] *Κεν*[]
 θ/έαντῶ []
 / Σαραεῦτ[ι]
 265]/Πακτρῶ[]
]] Π[]
 Cεν[]
] ηκατο[]
]] χρη(ματίξ) [μητ(ρός)]
 270] (ὄν) δι(ακτ.) έαν[τῶ]
 έ]αντῶ []

 (frag. d)
] Παρμενα . []
]/(ὄν) δι(ακτ.) έαντῶ *Κεν*[]
]/έαντῶ ἄλων[ιῶν]
 275]/έαντῶ ζευγῶ(ν) []
] Διογένους []
] ρήμου []
] . Ἀπίωνος[]
] . . . []

(detached fragment)

Col. i. 'NN son of Panares, 6 art., of which were transferred for himself, for village dues at Sennis, 2 art.; for himself, village dues at Seneptha, 4 art.

NN son of Aphynchis, village dues at Sennis, 6½ art. 2 ch. . . . village dues at the same village, 3 ch. NN child of Teeus, village dues at Seneptha, ½ art. NN, village dues at Seneptha, ½ art. [The same.] village dues at Sennis, . . . NN, village dues at Sennis, ½ art. 8 ch. NN, Sennis, village dues, 2 ch. [The same.] Seneptha, village dues, ½ art. . . . ch. . . . for epiklastmoi, Sennis, village dues. . . . Seneptha, village dues, ½ art. 2 ch. NN, Seneptha, village dues, 1 art. 2 ch. [The same.] Seneptha, village dues, . . . 4 ch.

NN, 5 art., of which were transferred for . . . , village dues, 2 art. . . . 3 art.

NN, village dues at . . . , ½ art. . . . ch. NN, Seneptha, village dues, ½ art. 8 ch.

NN, 9 art., of which were transferred for . . . , for village dues at Sennis, . . . village dues at Senepta. . . .

NN, 2 art., of which were transferred for . . . , for village dues at Senepta, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch.; for . . . , Senepta, village dues, 8 ch.

NN, 13 art. 8 ch., of which were transferred for . . . , for municipal dues at . . . , 12 art. 4 ch.; for . . . , municipal dues at the same village, 4 ch.; for . . . , municipal dues at Geme, 1 art.

NN 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4 ch., of which were transferred for . . . , for syntaxis at Geme, village dues, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art.; for . . . , syntaxis at Sennis, village dues, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. 9 ch.; for NN, village dues at Sennis, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch.; for NN, municipal dues at Sennis, 2 art. 8 ch.

NN, Sennis, village dues, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch.; [the same.] Senepta, village dues, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. . . . ch. NN, bastard child of Marous, Senepta, village dues, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. . . . ch.

NN, bastard child of Tayris, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 4 ch., of which were transferred for . . . , for village dues at Senepta, $\frac{1}{2}$ art.; for . . . , village dues at Sennis, $\frac{1}{4}$ art. 4 ch.

(Total) . . . $4\frac{1}{2}$ art. 7 ch.

Col. ii. 'Bes son of NN, Senepta (?) . . .

Zoilus son of Zoilus . . . , of which were transferred 4. for himself, Sennis, village dues, 10 art. 10. for himself, Sennis, village dues, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. . . . ch.

10. Sarapous daughter of Besas, Senepta, village, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 7. Properties formerly belonging to the heirs of Severus, but now to the most sacred fiscus, through Serenus, farmer, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. deposit. 5. and through Syron, farmer from Tampiti, 2 art. deposit. ditto. and through Apollo and Copreus from the Nomu Epokion, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. deposit. ditto. and through Hiereus, farmer from the Nomu Epokion, 69 art. deposit. 8. Besarion also called Prophetes through Hiereus son of Zoilus, 40 art. deposit. 10. Thatres daughter of Polydas, Senepta, village dues, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. (marginal note) Sennis, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch. 4. The same, Sennis, village dues, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch. 7. Properties formerly belonging to the heirs of Severus, but now to the most sacred fiscus, through Copreus, farmer, . . . deposit. 4. Heirs of Sarapous son of Pnepherois, Sennis. . . 8. Heirs of Theophile daughter of Proclus, through Ammonius, farmer. . . 10. Theonilla daughter of Phocas, Pela, municipal dues, inclusive of epiklasmoi. . . Diogenis daughter of Hierakion, Geme, village. . . Zoilus, son of Domittius, and Tsentheus. . . Cornelius son of Saras, Senepta. . . The same, Sennis. . . Pambekis son of Pambekis, Sennis. . . 5. Ptolemaeus son of Pyrrhus, syntaxis at Senao, village account. . . 10. Aphynchis son of Amois, Senepta, village dues, 1 art. 4. Onnophris son of Zoilus, Sennis, village, 6 ch. 6. Theon son of Demetrius through Besas, farmer, Senepta, municipal dues, 10 art. 1. Thaisas daughter of Hermogenes, municipal dues at Sennis, $3\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. 4. Taaphynchis daughter of Hermogenes, Sennis, village, 9 ch. 10. The same, Senepta, village, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4. Pambekis son of Zoilus, Sennis, village, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 6 ch. 10. The same, Senepta, village, 8 ch.

Sarapias also called Thaisous, through Ptolis, farmer, 14 art., of which were transferred 5. for herself, Geme, municipal dues inclusive of epiklasmoi, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 8 ch. 6. for herself, Senepta, municipal dues inclusive of epiklasmoi, 7 art. 2 ch.

16. Ptolion and Pekysis and Dionysius, syntaxis at Geme, village account, $4\frac{1}{2}$ art. 1. Thaisas daughter of Hermogenes, Sennis, municipal dues, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 2 ch. 4. Taalos daughter of Horos, Sennis, village dues, 1 art. 3 ch. 10. The same, village dues at . . . , $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3 ch.

(Total) 248 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3 ch.

Col. iii. 'Sennis . . . ditto. for himself NN, Senepta, municipal account, . . . Andromachus son of Aperos and Lucius NN and associates. . . , for municipal dues at Senepta, 43 art. Petronia, bastard daughter of Polydous, 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. deposit. Apollonius, grinder, village dues at Sennis, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art. Heirs of Pnepherois son of Pasion, village dues at Sennis, 4 art. Ptolemaeus son of Philostratus, village dues at Sennis, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art. 9 ch. 4. Hiereus son of Papontos, syntaxis at Petne, village account, 4 ch. Iulia Demetria and Lucia daughter of Gaius. . . , through Petermouthis, farmer, 2 art. deposit. Dioscorus son of Eudaemon, syntaxis at Petne, village account, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. NN and Pekrouris, syntaxis at Petne, village account, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 2 ch. NN child of Ptolias and Polydas son of . . . , village dues at . . . , $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 2 ch. NN bastard child of Taamenneus, Petne, village dues, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 2 ch. NN child of Psois, syntaxis at Petne, village account, 6 ch. NN child of Dioces, Geme, municipal account, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. NN, Senepta, municipal account, . . . 4 ch. . . . Senepta, village account, 2 art. . . . Petne, village account, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch. ditto. . . . syntaxis at Petne, village account, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. ditto. NN child of Papontos,

syntaxis at Petne, village account, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch. ditto. Zoilus son of Pambekis, syntaxis at Petne, village account, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch.

Ptolemaeus son of Pyrrhus, 2 art. 4 ch., of which were transferred 14. for himself, for syntaxis at Petne, village account, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4 ch. 6. for Tayris bastard daughter of Glaphyras, Senepta, municipal account, $\frac{1}{2}$ art.

8. Aelius Ammonion and Philiscus, 43 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. deposit. 6. Tayris bastard daughter of Glaphyras, municipal dues at Senepta, . . . 4 ch. 9. Ptolemaeus son of Herakleides. . . .

Sarapias also called Thaisous, through Vestinus, farmer, 41 art. 8 ch., of which were transferred 29. for herself, municipal dues at Pela, inclusive of epiklasmoi, 1 art. 1. for herself, municipal dues at Sennis, inclusive of epiklasmoi, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 30. for herself, municipal dues at Senao, inclusive of epiklasmoi, 3 art. 7. for herself, municipal dues at Senepta, inclusive of epiklasmoi, 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 8 ch.

Anthestius also called Sarapion, son of Cleon, 30 art., of which were transferred 1. for himself, for municipal dues at Psinaranachthis, inclusive of epiklasmoi, 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 7 ch. 7. for himself, municipal dues at Senepta, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3 ch.

(Total) 225 art. '3

Col. iv is too mutilated for translation.

Col. v. 'NN, . . . art., of which were transferred. . . for himself, village dues at Senepta, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. . . . ch. ditto. for himself, in the name of Senthus daughter of Ptolias, village dues at Senepta, 1 art. . . . ch. 3. for the same Ptolias, village dues at Sennis, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4 ch.

NN and Taaphynchis, village dues at Sennis, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch. The same, village dues at Senepta, $1\frac{1}{2}$ art. NN son of Dionys, municipal dues at Sennis, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3 ch. The same, village dues at Senepta, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch. NN, village dues at Senepta, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. NN, village dues at Sennis, $\frac{1}{2}$ art.

Patas bastard son of Kellarous, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch., of which were transferred 1. for Kellarous, village dues at Geme, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 5. for the same woman, village dues at Geme, . . . for Patas himself, village dues at Sennis, . . . for NN the elder, son of Papontos, village dues at Senepta, 2 art. . . . ch. . . . for Thais daughter of Besas, village dues at Sennis, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch.

NN, once exegetes. . . deposit.

. . . Demetrius. . . , of which were transferred. . . municipal dues at . . . , inclusive of epiklasmoi 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. . . . municipal dues inclusive of epiklasmoi, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. . . . 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. . . . ch. . . . 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. . . . ch. for . . . , municipal dues at Tychinnekotis, inclusive of epiklasmoi and transport charge, 13 art. . . . for NN, village dues at Senepta, $3\frac{1}{2}$ art.; for NN, municipal dues at Senepta, 53 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. . . . for the heirs of Dionysius also called Amois. . . , municipal dues at Sennis, 2 art. 6 ch. . . . for the same, municipal dues at Senepta, inclusive of epiklasmoi, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4 ch. . . . for Claudia (?) Isidora the most brilliant, through. . . 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. deposit.

NN son of Theon, 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ art., of which were transferred 5. for himself, municipal dues at Geme, inclusive of epiklasmoi, . . . ditto, for himself, municipal dues at Senao, inclusive of epiklasmoi, . . . 6. for himself, municipal dues at Senepta, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4 ch. ditto, for Annia also called Isidora, municipal dues at Senepta, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $3\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4 ch. . . . to the account for properties formerly owned by Chaeremon son of Primus, municipal dues at Senepta, 1 art. 8 ch. . . . to the account for properties formerly owned by Besas also called Besarion. . . through the overseers, for municipal dues at Senao, $\frac{3}{4}$ art. 4 ch. ditto, for Sarapion also called Gallio, and to the account for properties formerly belonging to Thaisous, municipal dues at Sennis, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3 ch. . . . for the same. . . for properties formerly belonging to Dionysius also called Amois, son of Herakleides, municipal dues at Senepta, inclusive of epiklasmoi, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. . . . for the same, municipal dues for the same village, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 3 ch.; . . . for the same, municipal dues at Sennis, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. 2 ch. . . . for NN child of Apollo. . . village dues at Senepta, 2 art. . . . for the same Apollo. . . village dues at Senao, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art.; . . . to the account for properties formerly owned by Besas also called Besarion, through the overseers, municipal dues for Senao. . .

Col. vi' . . . to the account of properties formerly owned by Chaeremon son of Primus, municipal dues at Senepta, $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. . . . for Apianus (?) also called Cl(), municipal dues at Sennis, inclusive of epiklasmoi, $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 6 ch. . . . for the same, municipal dues at Geme. . .

25. Account for properties formerly belonging to Herakleides son of Ktesas, through Chaeremon son of Herakleides, municipal dues at Seryphis, . . . (marginal note) look up 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. 9. NN child of Besas,

village dues at Seneptha... 3. Castor son of Ameis, village dues at Sennis... 9. the same Castor, village dues at Seneptha... ditto, Senthous, village dues at Seneptha... ditto, the same, village dues at Seneptha... ditto, Taninouthis, village dues at Seneptha... ditto, Dioscorus son of Eudaemon, village dues at Seneptha... 13. Apollo son of Aphynchis, syntaxis at Geme, village account... 9. Copreus son of Amois, village dues at Seneptha... 16... Demetria, village dues at Seneptha... 8. Lucius Septimius Lucillianus, ... deposit. 29. NN, village dues at Seneptha...

NN... art., of which were transferred... for himself, syntaxis at Geme, village account... for himself, ... at Seneptha... (marginal note)... 4 ch. (1st hand) for the heirs of Dioscorus son of NN...

Pamounis son of Zoilus, ... art., of which were transferred... for himself, syntaxis at Geme, village account, § art. 9. for Tapetosiris, village dues at Seneptha, 1½ art. 6 ch. ditto. for himself, Pamounis, village dues at Seneptha, ½ art. 3 ch. 3, for himself, village dues at Sennis, 1½ art. 7 ch.

3. Tabesas daughter of Sarapas, village dues at Sennis, inclusive of epiklasmoi... Hierous son of Zoilus, village dues at Seneptha... Apollonius the carpenter, syntaxis at Geme, village account... ditto. Tetheus, through Apis and Zoilus, village dues at Geme... ditto. Copreus the elder, syntaxis at Geme, village account... 9. Dionysius son of Potamon, village dues at Seneptha... ditto, Copreus the elder, village dues at Seneptha... ditto, Taninouthis, village dues at Seneptha... ditto, NN through Hatres, village dues at Seneptha...

Aurelia Ptolemais also called Artemidora, ... art., of which were transferred 15. for herself, municipal dues at Geme, 10½ art. 3 ch. 3. for Pambekis son of Phanion, village dues at Sennis, 1½ art. 1. for NN, municipal dues at Sennis, 2½ art. 3. for NN the elder, village dues at Sennis, 2½ art. 9. for the same, village dues at Seneptha, 1 art... village dues at Seneptha, 8½ art 7 ch... village dues at Seneptha, 4 art.

(Total) 154½ art. 9 ch.'

Cols. vii and viii are too mutilated for translation.

1 (ἀπρ.): not the total of grain on hand in the depositor's account, but the total expended during the period covered by this report.

2 (ὄν) κτλ.: for the restoration cf. e.g. 44 ff. The symbol reproduced and discussed in XII 1444. 10 note should be resolved as here. In the present text it takes the more characteristic right-angle form, on which see P. Berl. Leihg. 13, critical note to ll. 9 and 15. (τούτων) is also possible, but cf. XXII 2346. 41 and 45; P. Teb. I 60. 15 n.

δ(αγαλείαι): better than δι(εστάλησαν); cf. XXII 2346. 15 *et passim*, where μετ(ρηθείσαι) should be read following P. Petaus 43. 27. So also in XII 1444. 10 and often. Entries introduced in this way record giro transfers of grain of the sort known through orders to pay in the διακολικόν form and receipts introduced by διεστάλησαν (bibliography in XXXI 2588-2591 int.; 3179 int.).

ἐαντῷ Ἐένεως: i.e. to pay the depositor's own taxes or rents on land he owns or leases from the government in the area for which the inhabitants of Sennis bore collectively the responsibility for seeing that such taxes and rents were paid.

Ἐένεως: the large number of persons who pay dues on land both at Sennis and at Seneptha (central toparchy) suggests that the two were located fairly near each other.

κά(μης): the payment is to be credited to the account of the villagers of Sennis as distinct from that of the metropolitan absentee landlords: see 3181. 5 note. The expansion κά(μης) seems the natural opposition to πάλεως, which is written in full many times (e.g. 23 ff.). In XII 1444. 14 *et passim*, the editors expand κομ(ητικῶν), and l. 19, κομητ() shows that κά(μης) is not right for that text; presumably κομ(ητῶν) and πολ(ιτῶν) should be read as suggested in l. 11 note.

8 restore ὁ αὐτός or ἡ αὐτή.

10 {(ἀπρ.)} χ(αί.) β: either the artaba sign is superfluous and should be cancelled (cf. l. 29), or the fraction δ should be inserted between (ἀπρ.) and χ(αί.).

11 Cf. 8 note.

12 ἐπιπλακ(μῶν): cf. 259, 260; ἐν ἐπιπλακμοῖς l. 78 and often. Other references to this land tax are P. Teb. II 373. 12; 470; B.G.U. IV 920. 24; P. Rendel Harris 139. 5-6; P. Oslo III 154. 13-14; S.B. VI 8971. 12; VI 899. 9; IX 1208. 21 and 23; XIV 1638. 28; 1700. 18-19; 1704. 15. With one exception (l. 231) the present account records ἐπιπλακμοῖ only on land owned by metropolitans.

A money tax of the same name in P. Teb. II 391. 27 f., to be collected by πράκτορες λαογραφίας, has no apparent connexion with land; cf. also the unclear P.S.I. I 105. 20; Wallace, *Taxation*, 26 f. and 70 f.

29 ἡ α(ὐτῆ): written too far right to refer to the payee of the diastolikon; not, therefore, a mistake for τῆ αὐτῆ but for τῆς αὐτῆς, replacing a village name. The same case confusion occurs in XII 1444. 19 and often.

32 συντάξι(σως): cf. lines 33, 68, 94, 97, 98, 101, 106-8, 110, 217, 223, 227, 233, 235. This seems the only expansion possible, since συντάξιμων was a capitation tax in money and no charge listed by Wallace would suit the interpretation ἐν τα(). Cf. P.S.I. VII 739. 11-12 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 163) τῶν τῆς γῆς δημοσίων κ(αὶ) συντάξιων. Ἐόνταξια was a charge intended to support temples: Wallace pp. 29 and 239 ff.; Otto, *Priester und Tempel* I 366 ff.; E. Wipszycka, *JJP* 15 (1965) 166 f. In the present text small payments for syntaxis are recorded only for villagers from Geme, Sennis, Senao and Petne.

45 δ: either the day on which the transaction took place or the κόλλημα of a roll in which it could be verified. The latter is more probable because XXII 2346, which records payments in kind much as the present text records payments by διακολικῶν, gives κόλλημα numbers but not dates.

53 Ἰέρως Ζαυλῶν: cf. l. 232.

57 Added between the existing lines by 2nd hand to incorporate the information given in the marginalia.

68 Πτολεμαῖος Πύρρον: cf. l. 109.

72 Θαϊσῶς Ἐρμογόνου: cf. l. 81.

77 Σαραπάς ἡ καὶ Θαϊσοῦς: cf. l. 115.

83 Σε[]: Σελέπτα, Σεΐαῶ, or Σεΐνεως.

89 κ(): cf. l. 161. κ(εφαλαιωται) is perhaps the most probable expansion. Beta could be read instead of kappa.

91 ἀλέτης: in papyri only here and P. Hibeh II 268 int.

97 Διέσκορος Ἐδάμονος: cf. l. 216.

111 Ταύρι Γλαφυράτος = Ταύρι χρηματιζούση μητρὸς Γ.: cf. 113. The text is found in both places. Another example of the mother's name in this position is P. Mich. XI 608. 19 Αὐρήλιος Ὀνοφρίου (l.-oc) Ῥαχήλ; cf. also P. Giss. Univ.-Bibl. 491 verso 15, iv verso 1; P. Mich. X 595. 8 note; line 164 below.

121 Ψιναρανάχθεως: not known elsewhere.

139 Ἀπιανὸς ὁ καὶ Κλ(): cf. l. 206.

140 ὁ αὐτός (πρότερον) κληρονόμων Νεκ [: that is, Apianus is credited with a payment on property which once belonged to the heirs of N. but has since been acquired by himself; cf. int. Similarly XXII 2346. 16 and 37, where (πρότερον) must be read for ed. ἀπό (not l. 49, where ed.'s bizarre (πρό)στερ(ον) cannot be right).

143 Θεογένης ὁ καὶ Λαοδικηρῖός: probably to be identified with the Θεογένει τῷ καὶ Λαδικηρῶν who was city scribe of Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 154 (XXXI 2564. 1 note).

155 ὀνό(ματος) = διὰ, for which cf. l. 77 *et passim*. Senthous is a tenant, in all likelihood a sub-lessee of state land rented by the account holder. Since the latter remained ultimately responsible for the rents due, the payment by Senthous was credited to him. See Stud. Pal. XVII p. 40; P. Cair. Isid. pp. 56-7. Similarly XII 1444. 26 and XXII 2346. 6, 43 and 57, where ὀνό(ματος) should be read for ed.'s ὀνό(ματι).

164 Πατάς Κελλαροῦτος: the restoration is certain; cf. l. 167, and for the omission of χρηματιζών μητρὸς l. 111 note.

178 παραφορέτρα: addendum lexicis. Carrying charges (φόρετρα) on ἐπιπλακμοῖ are found also in P. Teb. II 470. 5.

179]ε,τφ: not ἐμτφ.

180]υτφ: not τφ ἀπὸ referring to the person in l. 179, because the same individual cannot pay dues both as a villager and as a metropolitan. ἐα]υτφ referring back to the account holder would be possible, but then his name would be expected to follow as in lines 167 and 229.

181 Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀμοῦ: cf. l. 196; P. Fouad 32. 17-18; P. Strasb. 191. 10. The Fouad text shows that this individual was still alive in A.D. 174, which accordingly is a *terminus post quem* for

the present document. On the formation of the late short genitive 'Αμό see Moulton, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. II, 60A(6), pp. 45 f.

184 Κλαυδία (?): this is the only known Oxyrhynchite Isidora of the period who is likely to be called λαμπροτάτη, and Κλαυδία suits the space available. For references see XXXI 2566. 6 note.

190 Ἀννία: the reading is certain.

191 (πρότερον) Χαρήμωνος Πρίμο[υ]: cf. l. 205; 140 n.

192 (πρότερον) Βησά τοῦ καὶ Βησαρίωνος: cf. l. 202; 140 n.

196 The name after τῷ α(ὐτῷ) is not one of those in l. 194.

202 For the supplement cf. l. 192.

215 Ταννοῦθις: cf. l. 238.

224 The mutilated word is presumably the name of a tax.

225 . . () χ(ολ.) δ: the abbreviation is conceivably (ἐκατοστῶν) or προμετρομμένων).

235 Κοπρ[εύς]: cf. l. 237.

240 The number of artabas cannot be restored because it is not certain that the list of Ptolemais's expenditures ended with this column.

274 ἀλων[ῶν]: on state charges for the use of threshing-floors see Wallace p. 324.

275 ζευγά(ν): not ζευγα(τακῶν), which in any case was a money tax. A Ptolemaic charge for ζεύγη is known from W.O. 1028, cf. W.O. I pp. 219 and 755. This is the only occurrence in a text of Roman date.

3170. ACCOUNTS FROM THE GRANARY AT SINARY

37 3B. 87/G (1-11) verso

(a) 5.5 × 16 cm. (b) 36 × 31 cm. (c) 66 × 31 cm.

Third century

Four distinct but related groups of work notes concerning the state granary at Sinary, written on the back of 3169. The transactions recorded took place in regnal years 10/11 of an unnamed emperor (line 115). Since a reasonable time lapse must be allowed between 3169 (between A.D. 174 and 212) and the use of its verso for the present text, the reign of Severus and Caracalla (11th year A.D. 202/3) is probably too early. More plausible are the reigns of Alexander Severus (11th year A.D. 231/2) and Gallienus (11th year A.D. 263/4). On palaeographic grounds the earlier date is preferable.

1. Lines 1-110 and 119-25. Summaries of grain received for the monartabia tax for the months Epeiph, Mesore, Thoth and Phaophi (27 June-23 October) of years 10/11, as well as a fragment which may come from the account for Payni of year 10. The texts distinguish consistently between grain paid directly at Sinary itself and that ἀπ' ἄλλων τόπων (l. 52 note). These other localities are listed in each account following the revenue from Sinary: if there is an organizing principle in the lists, it is at least not alphabetical or geographical. More than half of the grain for monartabia credited to Sinary during Epeiph, Mesore and Thoth was received or booked by giro-transfer from elsewhere: 1,686 art. 33 ch. ἀπ' ἄλλων τόπων out of a total 3,354 art. 3 ch. Cf. the extensive giro activity indicated in 3169.

Work notes of this nature were no doubt used in drawing up such monthly reports as those listed by Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 371 n. 43.

2. Lines 111-18. In space left vacant at the bottom of the short column iv was

written a statement of the total grain for monartabia delivered for the months Pachon-Choiaik (26 April-26 December). Income was high for the chief harvest month of Pachon, reached a peak of 3,841 art. 17 ch. for Payni, and thereafter declined rapidly to a low of 50 artabae for Hathyr. These figures roughly correlate with the relative abundance of wheat available according to the time elapsed since harvest: cf. M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 162 ff.; Z. Packman, *Taxes in Grain* (Toronto, 1968), p. 59.

3. Lines 126-246. A list of the villages from which grain for monartabia was paid into Sinary, together with the amounts received per village for each of the six months Payni-Hathyr (26 May-26 November). Later the same hand added entries also for Mecheir (26 January-24 February), skipping over Choiaik and Tybi; these additions are ignored in the totals given at the bottom of each column. The villages are arranged by toparchy, the latter so far as preserved being listed in standard order (Upper, Western, Eastern, Middle, Thmoisepho, Lower: see e.g. X 1285. 51 ff.). Of these the listing for the upper toparchy is incomplete; and that for the lower, if it was ever written on this papyrus, is lost altogether.

4. Lines 247-67. Summary list of taxes to be collected in grain from metropolitan landholders at Sinary in year 10, with some interesting entries.

A few highly cursive and mutilated lines probably in a second hand above cols. ix-xi have no apparent pertinence to the other accounts and are not transcribed here. Among scattered figures on the recto (3169 col. iv) occurs the following list, from a text which must have been similar to the summaries in section 1, but arranged by toparchy: *Κερύφειος (ἀρτ.) ιβ | Πέλα (ἀρτ.) ι | Κενοκώμ(εως) (ἀρτ.) ε | Κενεκελ(εῦ) (ἀρτ.) ζ | Κύρων (ἀρτ.) β | (γίνονται) λς | Ἐντίεως κγ | Κκὼ κζ | Μονίμου σ | Ἀθύγειος ιδ | Χύσειος κα | Μερμέρθ(ων) ζ | Νεσμίμ(εως) δ | ...* The first five entries are all from the Western toparchy, the remainder from the Upper.

A checking dot to the upper right appears after figures in ll. 126, 163 and 237. All calculations are based on the forty-choenix artaba.

(fragment a)

Col. i

↓

[Ἰείου Τρύ]φων[ος
[ἄλλ(αι)] (ἀρτάβαι) ρπ
[ἄ]λλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) ιε
ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) με
5 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) ζ
ἄλλ() (ἀρτ.) [
ἄλλ() [
Τῆε[ως
Κεντ[ὼ

- 10 Ἐθύχ[εως
 Ταμπ[έμου
 Φθώχ[εως
 Σεφώ [
 Cκώ [
 15 Θμοι[εψώβθεως
 Ψώβ[θεως
 Νε[μερών
 Ἐν[τίεως
 γ(ίνονται) ἀ[π' ἄλλων τόπων (ἀρτ.)
 20 γ(ίνονται) .[
 fragment (b)

Col. ii

- Μεσορή εἰς μηριέον
 Ἐπίφ.
 Cιναρὺ συνερέμ(ατος) (μοναρταβίας) C
 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ρν
 25 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) φ
 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ρ
 γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτ.) λν
 Τυχινφάγων (μοναρτ.) οα
 Νεμερών (μοναρτ.) οβ
 30 Ταμπέμου (μοναρτ.) ρ
 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) δ
 Ψώβθεως κάτ(ω) (μοναρτ.) λε
 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) σ
 Σεφώ (μοναρτ.) ξδ χ(οί.) η
 35 Κερκ[εμί]ού[ν]εως ἐξ ἀν-
 τυπ[. . .]. [(μον)](ἀρτ.) [λ]ηδ χ(οί.) σ
 Κερκ[εύρω]ν [(μοναρτ.)] π
 Cεντ[ώ] (μοναρτ.) ιε
 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) σ
 40 Μονίμου (μοναρτ.) μ
 Ἐντίεως (μοναρτ.) δ
 Τήεως (μοναρτ.) γ

- Κεμούχεως (μοναρτ.) ιε
 Ἐθύχεως (μοναρτ.) ιη χ(οί.) β
 45 Cκώ (μοναρτ.) ιε
 Ἐίου Τ[ρ]ύφωνος (μοναρτ.) ρ
 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ν
 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ρι
 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ι
 50 Φοβώ[ο]ν (μοναρτ.) λθ (ἤμιν) χ(οί.) β
 Θμοιεψώβθεως (μοναρτ.) C
 γ(ίνονται) ἀπ' ἄλλων τόπων (ἀρτ.) ἌCχ χ(οί.) η
 γ(ίνονται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (ἀρτ.) Ἐμς χ(οί.) η
 21 l. μνηαῖον 23 l. συναιρέματος 24 etc. α -- 46 ἴσιου

Col. iii

- [Θώθ εἰς μ]ηριέον M[ε]ρρή.
 55 [Cιναρὺ ε]υνερέμ(ατος) (μοναρτ.) Cν
 [ἄ]λλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) C
 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) ο
 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) μ γ(ίνονται) φξ
 Ὠφεως (μοναρτ.) π
 60 ἄλλ(η) (μοναρτ.) α
 Ἐμῆ (μοναρτ.) κδ
 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) σ
 Νόμου Ἐπικίον (μοναρτ.) κε
 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) [δ]
 65 Τόκα (μοναρτ.) γ
 [Ἐ]ίου Τρύφωνος (μοναρτ.) [
 [Θμοι]νεψώβ[θ]εως (μοναρτ.) [
 [Ταμπέμου] (μοναρτ.) [ιη (ἤμιν)]
 [Ἐν]τίεως (μοναρτ.) α
 70 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) β
 [C]γκέφα (μοναρτ.) ο[ε]
 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ζ
 Παίμεως (μοναρτ.) η
 Μερμέρθων (μοναρτ.) ι[d] χ(οί.) ζ
 75 Τανάεως (μοναρτ.) γ

- [ἄλ]λ(αι) (μοναρτ.) ιδ
 [. . .]εως (μοναρτ.) ε (ἤμιεν)
 [Cκ]ώ (μοναρτ.) γ
 [Πε]τη (μοναρτ.) ια
 80 ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.) θ
 [Π]εννώ (μοναρτ.) ε
 [Cέ]σφθα (μοναρτ.) ε
 Ἰστρου (μοναρτ.) β
 Ψώβθεως ἀπηλιώτου (μοναρτ.) ε
 85 Νεμερών (μοναρτ.) η
 Κε[ε]μούχεως (μοναρτ.) β
 Cερύφεως (μοναρτ.) ι[α]
 γ(ίνονται) ἀπ' ἄλλων τόπων (ἀρτ.) [υ]μδ χ(οί.) ζ
 [γ(ίνονται) τοῦ] μηνός (ἀρτ.) [ἸAd χ(οί.)] ζ
 54 I. μηναιῖον 55 I. συναρέματος 61 ἱεμη 73 παίμεως
- Col. iv
- 90 Φαῶφι εἰς μνηεῖον]
 Θῶθ.
 Cινά[ρ]ὺ συναρέμ(ατος)
 (μοναρτ.) ρ ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) ν
 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) ζ γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτ.) ρνζ
- 95 Θώλθεως κάτω (μοναρτ.) κδ
 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) ι
 Πακερκή ἀπηλιώτου) (μοναρτ.) κ (ἤμιεν)
 Φοβώου (μοναρτ.) κγ χ(οί.) η
 Θμονειψώβθεως (μοναρτ.) ε
 100 Μερμέρθων (μοναρτ.) ε
 Χύσεως (μοναρτ.) α
 Περγνώ (μον[(?αρτ.) γ]
 Πετηνή [(μοναρτ.) β (ἤμιεν)]
 Cερύφε[ως (μοναρτ.) ι]
 105 Κερκεμού[νεως (μοναρτ.) κε]
 Cινκέφα (ἀρτ.) ια
 Ἀθύχεως (μοναρτ.) δ
 Ἰσίου Τρύφωνος (μοναρτ.) ζ (ἤμιεν)

- γ(ίνονται) ἀπ' [ἄ]λλων τόπων (ἀρτ.) ρν (ἤμιεν) χ(οί.) η
 110 γ(ίνονται) [τ]οῦ μην[δ]ε (ἀρτ.) τζ (ἤμιεν) χ(οί.) η
 c. 3 cm. blank

Παχών (ἀρτ.) ἸBC

Παῦνι (ἀρτ.) ἸΓωμιαδ χ(οί.) ζ

ἸΕπειφ (ἀρτ.) ἸΒμς χ(οί.) η

Μεσορή (ἀρτ.) ἸAd χ(οί.) ζ

115 ια (ἔτους) Θώ[θ] (ἀρτ.) τζ (ἤμιεν) χ(οί.) η

Φαῶφ[ε] (ἀρτ.) ρθ

ἸA[θ]ὺ[ρ] (ἀρτ.) ν

Χ[οίακ] (ἀρτ.) C

90 I. μηναιῖον 91 I. συναρέματος 108 ἱείου 112 παῖνι

Col. v

ἸA[θὺρ εἰς μνηεῖον]

120 Φ[αῶφι]

C[ιναρὺ συναρέμ(ατος) (μοναρτ.)

K[ι]

K[ι]

T[ι]

125 .[ι]

(fragment c)

Col. vi

] (ἀρτ.) κ·

[Cινκέφα]

[Θώθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορή (μον)](?αρτ.) οε

[ἄλλ(αι) (μοναρτ.)] ζ

130 [Φαῶφι ὑπ(ἐρ) Θώθ (μον)](?αρτ.) ια

[ἸAθύχεως]

[ἸEπειφ ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι (μοναρτ.) .]χ(οί.) ζ

Col. vii

[Μεσορή ὑπ(ἐρ) ἸEπειφ [(μον)](?αρτ.) ιη χ(οί.) β

[Φαῶφι] ὑπ(ἐρ) Θώθ (μοναρτ.) δ

135 [ἸEντί]εως

- [Ἐπεὶφ] ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι (μοναρτ.) δ
 [Μεσορ]ῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεὶφ (ἀρτ.) δ
 [Θῶθ] ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) α
 [ἄλ]λ(αι) (ἀρτ.) β
 140 [Με]ρμέρθ(ων)
 [Θ]ῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ] (μοναρτ.) ιδ χ(οί.) ζ
 [Φ]αῶφι ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ] (μοναρτ.) ε
 [Ἄ]θῶρ ὑπ(ἐρ) Φαῶφ]ι (μοναρτ.) δ
 [Cκ]ῶ
 145 [Ἐ]πεὶφ [ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι] (μοναρτ.) ε
 [Μεσορ]ῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεὶφ (μοναρτ.) ιε
 Θῶθ [ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορ]ῆ (μοναρτ.) γ
 Μονίμου Μεσορῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεὶφ (ἀρτ.) μ
 Κερκεμούνεωσ
 150 Μεσορῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεὶφ (ἀρτ.) ληδ χ(οί.) ς
 Φαῶφι ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ [(ἀρτ.)] κε
 Λιβ(ός)
 Cερύφωσ
 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ [(μοναρτ.) ι]α
 155 Φαῶφι ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ [(μοναρτ.)] ι
 Cύρων
 Χοίακ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἄθῶρ (ἀρτ.) η
 C[θ]ζ (ἤμισυ) δη'
- Col. viii
- Παείμωσ
 160 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) η
 Ἄπηλ(ιώτου)
 Πακερκῆ ἀπηλ(ιώτου)
 Φαῶφ[ι] ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ (ἀρτ.) κ (ἤμισυ)·
 [T]αμπέμου
 165 [Ἐ]πεὶφ ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι (ἀρτ.) ν
 Μεσορῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεὶφ (ἀρτ.) ρ
 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) δ

- Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) ιη (ἤμισυ)
 Ὠφωσ
 170 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) M[ε]ρρῆ (ἀρτ.) π
 ἄλλ(η) (ἀρτ.) α
 Μεχέρ (μον)[(ῆ)αρτ.]]
 ἄλλ() (μον)[(ῆ)αρτ.]]
 ἄλλ() (μον)[(ῆ)αρτ.]]
 175 Φοβώου
 Μεσορῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) [Ἐπεὶφ (ἀρτ.) λθ (ἤμισυ) χ(οί.) β]
 Φαῶφι ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ (ἀρτ.) κγ χ(οί.) [η]
 Χοίακ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἄθῶρ (ἀρτ.) ι
 Ψώβθεωσ
 180 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) ε
 Ἄθῶρ ὑπ(ἐρ) Φαῶφι (ἀρτ.) ζ
 Φθάκωσ
 Ἐπεὶφ ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι (ἀρτ.) η
 τσηδ
- 165 παῖν
- Col. ix
- 185 [Θμουεψάβθεωσ]
 [Ἐπεὶφ ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι]
 [Μεσορῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεὶφ (ἀρτ.) C]
 [Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ]
 [Φ]αῶφι [ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ (ἀρτ.) ε]
 190 [X]οίακ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἄθ]ῶρ
 Μεχέρ []
 ἄλλ() []
 Μέσγς Τοπ(αρχίας)
 Νόμου Ἐποικ(ίου)
 195 Θῶθ [ὑ]π(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) κε
 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) δ
 Κερκεύρων
 Μεσορ[ῆ] ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπεὶφ (ἀρτ.) π

- Ἀθὺρ ὑπ(ἐρ) [Φ]αῶφι (ἀρτ.) β
 200 Νεμερ[ῶ]ρ
 Ἐπειφ ὑ[π(ἐρ)] Παῦνι (ἀρτ.) ζ
 Μεσορῆ [ῥ]π(ἐρ) [Ἐπ]είφ (ἀρτ.) οβ
 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) η
 [Ἐκδ]
- 205 Ἀψιβ (ἡμισυ) .πη.
 Col. x
 Τόκα
 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) γ
 Πεννώ
 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) ε
 210 Φαῶφι ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ (ἀρτ.) γ
 Ἰστρου
 Θ[ῶ]θ ὑ[π(ἐρ)] Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) β
 [Τανάεω]ς
 [Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μ]εσορῆ (ἀρτ.) γ
 215 [ἄλλ(αι)] (ἀρτ.) ιδ
 Μεχειρ (ἀρτ.) ι
 Πετνή
 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) ια
 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) θ
 220 Φαῶφι ὑπ(ἐρ) Θῶθ (ἀρτ.) β (ἡμισυ)
 Θῶλθεως μέσης
 Μεχειρ (μοναρτ.) ιε
 Ἰεμή
 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Μεσορῆ (ἀρτ.) κδ
 225 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) ς
 Cεντώ
 Ἐπειφ ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι (ἀρτ.) κ
 Μεσορῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπειφ (ἀρτ.) ιε
 ἄλλ(αι) (ἀρτ.) ς
 230 [Ἐκδ]

ρκγ (ἡμισυ)

211 ἴστρου 223 ἱεμη 227 παῖνι

Col. xi

- Θμοισεφῶ Τοπ(αρχίας)
 Σεφῶ
 Ἐπειφ ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι (ἀρτ.) με
 235 Μεσορῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπε[ίφ] (ἀρτ.) ξδ χ(οί.) η
 Παώμεως
 Ἀθὺρ ὑπ(ἐρ) Φαῶφι (ἀρτ.) ι
 Μεχειρ (ἀρτ.) λ
 Κεμούχε[ω]ς
 240 Μεσορῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπειφ (ἀρτ.) ιε
 Θῶθ ὑπ(ἐρ) Με[ο]ρῆ (ἀρτ.) β
 Τήεως
 Ἐπειφ ὑπ(ἐρ) Παῦνι (ἀρτ.) ι
 Μεσορῆ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἐπειφ (ἀρτ.) γ
 245 Μεχειρ (ἀρτ.) α
 c. 12 cm. blank
 ρμ[θ χ(οί.) η]

234 παῖνι

Col. xii

- κεφάλεια πρα(κτορίας)
 Cιναρὺ πόλλ(εως) γενήμ(ατος) ι (ἔτους)
 διοικήσεως (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) μυ(ριάς) α Ἐκ
 250 οὐσιακῶν ὁμοίως (ἀρτ.) Ἐβρε
 (πρότερον) Ἄνθου (ἀρτ.) μεδκδμη
 σπ[ερ]μάτων (ἀρτ.) μς (ἡμισυ) γ'β
 πρ[ο]σ[ο]δῶν διοικήσεως (ἀρτ.) .[
 λ[. .] ἀναληπ() (πρότερον) Καλουίου Ἰου[ε]στου
 255 πρ[ο]σ[ο]δῶν ἰδίου λόγου (ἀρτ.) [
 φό[ρο]υ διοικήσεως ἐξ ἀναπ[ο]μ-
 π[ῆ]ς ἐκλ[ο]γ[ε]στῶ (ἀρτ.) [
 οὐ[ρ]ακῶν ὁμ[ο]ίως [
 ἄλλ() (ἀρτ.) [
]

- 260 ἄλλ() ὁμοίως [
 μερικμοῦ ἐπι[
 ἐπεὶ νομοῦ [
 γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτ.) μ(υριάς) α' Ἐριγ'η'
 ἄλλ() (ἀρτ.) φς
 265 (δν) ἐν ἀμμοχώσσει (αρτ.) Ἄις (ἡμικυ) [
 λοιπ(αι) μ(υριάς) α' Δχδ (ἡμικυ) ἱβίς
 c. 6 cm. blank
 Ὑτξς (ἡμικυ)

247 l. κεφάλαια 254 καλοῦντο ἰού[255 ἰδιον 262 l. ἐπι

Slight remnants of a further column do not merit transcription.

Col. ii. 'Mesore, for the monthly report of Epeiph. Summary for Sinary: 200 (artabae of wheat) for *monarabia*; another 150 for *mon.*, another 500 for *mon.*, another 100 for *mon.*, total 950 artabae. Tychinphagi, 71 for *mon.*, Nemeræ, 72 for *mon.*, Tampemu, 100 for *mon.* and another 4 *mon.* Psothis of the lower toparchy, 35 *mon.* and another 6 *mon.* Sepho, 64 art. 8 ch. *mon.* Kerkemounis. . . , 38½ art. 6 ch. *mon.* Kerkeura, 80 *mon.* Sento, 15 *mon.* and another 6 *mon.* Monimu, 40 *mon.* Entiis, 4 *mon.* Teis, 3 *mon.* Kesmouchis, 15 *mon.* Athychis, 18 art. 2 ch. *mon.* Sko, 15 *mon.* Ision Tryphonos, 100 *mon.*, another 50 *mon.*, another 110 *mon.*, another 10 *mon.* Phobou, 39½ art. 2 ch. *mon.* Total from other localities, 1096 art. 8 ch. Grand total, 2,046 art. 8 ch.'

Col. iii. 'Thoth, for the monthly report of Mesore. Summary for Sinary, 250 *mon.*, another 200 *mon.*, another 70 *mon.*, another 40 *mon.*, total 560. Ophis, 80 *mon.*, another 1 *mon.* Ierne, 24 *mon.*, another 6 *mon.* Nomu Epoikion, 25 *mon.*, another 4 *mon.* Toka, 3 *mon.* Ision Tryphonos. . . *mon.* Thmoinepsobthis. . . *mon.* Tampemu, 18½ *mon.* Entiis, 1 *mon.*, another 2 *mon.* Sinkepha, 75 *mon.*, another 7 *mon.* Paimis, 8 *mon.* Mermertha, 10½ art. 7 ch. *mon.* Tanais, 3 *mon.*, another 14 *mon.*. . . , 5½ *mon.* Sko, 3 *mon.* Petne, 11 *mon.*, another 9 *mon.* Penno, 5 *mon.* Sesphta, 5 *mon.* Istru, 2 *mon.* Psothis of the Eastern toparchy, 5 *mon.* Nemeræ, 8 *mon.* Kesmouchis, 2 *mon.* Seryphis, 11 *mon.* Total from other localities, 440½ art. 7 ch. Total for the month, 1,000½ art. 7 ch.'

Col. iv. 'Phaophi, for the monthly report of Thoth. Summary for Sinary: 100 *mon.*, another 50 art., another 7 art., total 157 art. Tholthis of the Lower toparchy, 24 *mon.*, another 10 art. Pakerke of the Eastern toparchy, 20½ *mon.* Phobou, 23 art. 8 ch. *mon.* Thmoinepsobthis, 5 *mon.* Mermertha, 5 *mon.* Chysis, 1 (?) *mon.* Penno, 3 *mon.* Petne, 2½ *mon.* Seryphis, 10 *mon.* Kerkemounis, 25 *mon.* Sinkepha, 11 art. Athychis, 4 *mon.* Ision Tryphonos, 7½ *mon.* Total from other localities, 150½ art. 8 ch. [sic]. Total for the month, 307½ art. 8 ch.

Pachon, 2,200 art. Payni, 3,841½ art. 7 ch. Epeiph, 2,046 art. 8 ch. Mesore, 1,000½ art. 7 ch. Year 11, Thoth, 307½ art. 8 ch. Phaophi, 109 art. Hathyr, 50 art. Choiak, 200 art.'

Col. vi. ' . . . 20 art. Sinkepha, Thoth for Mesore, 75 *mon.*, another 7 *mon.* Phaophi for Thoth, 11 *mon.* Athychis, Epeiph for Payni, . . . art. 7 ch. *mon.* Mesore for Epeiph, 18 art. 2 ch. *mon.* Phaophi for Thoth, 4 *mon.* Entiis, Epeiph for Payni, 4 *mon.* Mesore for Epeiph, 4 art. Thoth for Mesore, 1 art., another 2 art. Mermertha, Thoth for Mesore, 10½ art. 7 ch. *mon.* Phaophi for Thoth, 5 *mon.* Hathyr for Phaophi, 4 *mon.* Sko, Epeiph for Payni, 5 *mon.* Mesore for Epeiph, 15 *mon.* Thoth for Mesore, 3 *mon.* Monimu, Mesore for Epeiph, 40 art. Kerkemounis, Mesore for Epeiph, 38½ art. 6 ch. Phaophi for Thoth, 25 art.

'Western toparchy. Seryphis, Thoth for Mesore, 11 *mon.* Phaophi for Thoth, 10 *mon.* Syron kome, Choiak for Hathyr, 8 art. (Total for the column) 207½ art.'

Col. viii. 'Paimis, Thoth for Mesore, 8 art.

'Eastern toparchy. Pakerke of the Eastern toparchy, Phaophi for Thoth, 20½ art. Tampemu, Epeiph for Payni, 50 art. Mesore for Epeiph, 100 art., another 4 art. Thoth for Mesore, 18½ art.

Ophis, Thoth for Mesore, 80 art., another 1 art. Mecheir, . . . *mon.*, another. . . *mon.*, another. . . *mon.* Phobou, Mesore for Epeiph, 39½ art. 2 ch. Phaophi for Thoth, 23 art. 8 ch. Choiak for Hathyr, 10 art. Psothis, Thoth for Mesore, 5 art. Hathyr for Phaophi, 7 art. Phthokis, Epeiph for Payni, 8 art. (Total for the column) 308½ art.'

Col. ix. 'Thmoinepsobthis, Epeiph for Payni. . . Mesore for Epeiph, 200 art. Thoth for Mesore. . . Phaophi for Thoth, 5 art. Choiak for Hathyr. . . Mecheir. . . , another. . .

'Middle toparchy. Nomu Epoikion, Thoth for Mesore, 25 art., another 4 art. Kerkeura, Mesore for Epeiph, 80 art. Hathyr for Phaophi, 2 art. Nemeræ, Epeiph for Payni, 7 art. Mesore for Epeiph, 72 art. Thoth for Mesore, 8 art. 1,712½. (Total for the column) .88. . .

Col. x. 'Toka, Thoth for Mesore, 3 art. Penno, Thoth for Mesore, 5 art. Phaophi for Thoth, 3 art. Istru, Thoth for Mesore, 2 art. Tanais, Thoth for Mesore, 3 art., another 14 art. Mecheir, 10 art. Petne, Thoth for Mesore, 11 art., another 9 art. Phaophi for Thoth, 2½ art. Tholthis of the Middle toparchy, Mecheir, 15 *mon.* Ierne, Thoth for Mesore, 24 art., another 6 art. Sento, Epeiph for Payni, 20 art. Mesore for Epeiph, 15 art., another 6 art. (Total for the column) 123½.'

Col. xi. 'Thmoisepho toparchy. Sepho, Epeiph for Payni, 45 art. Mesore for Epeiph, 64 art. 8 ch. Paomis, Hathyr for Phaophi, 10 art. Mecheir, 30 art. Kesmouchis, Mesore for Epeiph, 15 art. Thoth for Mesore, 2 art. Teis, Epeiph for Payni, 10 art. Mesore for Epeiph, 3 art. Mecheir, 1 art. (Total for the column) 149 art. 8 ch.'

Col. xii. 'Summary of grain to be collected for Sinary, metropolitan account, wheat crop of year 10. For the ficus, 12,020 art. wheat. For the patrimonium likewise, 2,155 art. From properties formerly belonging to Anthus, 45½ art. For seed, 461½ art. From revenue lands under administration by the ficus. . . art. For . . . formerly belonging to Salvius Justus. . . From revenue lands under administration by the idius logus. . . art. Land under administration of the ficus which by command sent up by the *eclogistes* has been assigned a cash rental (?). . . art. For the patrimonium likewise. . . another. . . art. likewise another. . . art. For the assignment of. . . in the nome. . . Total, 15,110½ art., and another 506 art. Deduct 1,016½ art. for land heavily sanded over, remainder 14,604½ art. [sic]. 6,366½.'

1-20 The recto of this column was for convenience labelled 3169 col. vii, but as it does not physically join the rest of the papyrus its actual position is rather conjectural. If it really is rightly placed here, it represents the account for Payni: it includes all the villages known from lines 126 ff. to have appeared in the list for Payni, and includes no village definitely known not to have appeared there.

2 ἄλλ(αι): the reason for keeping the subtotals as separate entries is obscure.

11 Ταμπέμου: more likely than Ταμπ[ε]τ[ι], which does not elsewhere occur in this account. More commonly spelled Ταμπέμου, but cf. ll. 30 and 164; 102 note.

16 After Ψάβηθεως is expected the name of a toparchy. If, as suggested in ll. 1-20 note, this is the payment for Payni, the restoration is *κάτω*, since Ψάβηθε ἀπηλώτου does not have an entry for Payni in ll. 179 ff.

19 ἀπ' ἄλλων τόπων: for the restoration cf. l. 52 with note.

20 Restore ἔπι τὸ αὐτὸ (l. 53) or τ[ο]δ[ὲ] μ[ε]νός (89, 110).

23 *συνερέμ(ατος)*: cf. B.G.U. VII 1626, 2 note.

24 (μοναρχία): Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 13, 15, 362 n. 25; P. Ryl. II 202, 3 n.; XII 1434, 23 n. One artaba 'was the normal rate of land-tax upon an arura of catoecic, cleruchic, or ordinary private land' - XII 1459, 11 n.

35 ἐξ ἀντιπ[. . .]: this obscure phrase does not recur in l. 149. In the absence of parallels neither Ἀντιπ[(ἔρα) Ἰτέλα] (as suggested by Parsons) nor e.g. Ἀντιπ[ἀτρο]ν sc. κλήρου (Rea) is convincing.

52 ἀπ' ἄλλων τόπων: the counterpart to ὑπὲρ ἄλλων κομῶν used to designate grain physically paid into one granary but destined for giro-transfer to another (P. Berl. Leihg. 1 recto 11, 4 note). This phrase presumably indicates grain booked to the tax-credit of Sinary from granaries at other localities where the actual delivery in kind had been made. The expression seems not to have occurred in a comparable context before.

On the technical meaning of *τόποι*, cf. R. Boehm, *Hermes* 81 (1953), esp. 473 ff.

The arithmetic is correct.

- 64 [8]: cf. l. 196.
 68 Cf. l. 168.
 71 ο[ε]: cf. l. 128.
 74 [d]: cf. l. 141.
 77 Probably [Xύc]εωc; cf. l. 101.
 89 [Ad χ(ολ.)ζ]: restored from l. 114.
 102 Περνώ (μοσιαρτ.) γ]: not Περνώ; cf. 81, 208. Similarly this account uses Ταμπέμου rather than the more common Ταμπέμου. For the restoration of the figure, cf. l. 210.
 103 β (ήμυ): cf. l. 220.
 104 ι]: cf. l. 155, where despite the dot the reading is assured by the total for the column.
 105 κε]: cf. l. 151 and preceding note.
 109 (άρτ.) ρν (ήμυ) χ(ολ.) η]: this is one artaba short of the true total, if the readings for the individual entries are correct. Since these are all assured except l. 101, where the only alternative to α is κ, and 108, where only β could perhaps be read for ζ, the scribe must be in error.
 115 ια (έτους): see first paragraph of introduction.
 127 ff. Cf. 75 f. and 106.
 131 ff. The entries in ll. 133 and 134 are clearly for Athychis; cf. 44 and 107. As there is no room in col. vii for a line above 133, 'Αθήγεωc has to be restored in the preceding column. In that column] χ(ολ.) ζ is wrongly placed to be a total for the column, so it must represent a payment for Athychis earlier than Epeiph; and in this account that can only be Payni.
 135 [Έντι]εωc: cf. 41 and 69 f.
 154 εα: cf. 87.
 158 C[θ]ζ (ήμυ) δη': there is a tear after C large enough to have taken away one numeral, but apparently it did not do so, since the total as it now stands is correct.
 176 'Επειφ (άρτ.) λθ (ήμυ) χ(ολ.) β]: cf. l. 50.
 177 η]: cf. 98.
 184 τοςδ: the correct total is 374 $\frac{3}{4}$ art. It is not possible to read the α's of the (μοσαρτ.) symbols in ll. 173 and 174 as numerals and to restore α (ήμυ) in line 172; for while this would produce the 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ artabae needed to make τοςδ correct, col. x shows that the column totals were calculated before the figures for Mecheir were added.
 185 ff. The number of lines restored exactly fills the space available, and Thmoinepsobthis is the only eastern toparchy village found in cols. i-v which is otherwise lacking from this list.
 205 'Αψμβ (ήμυ): it is not clear what this number refers to.
 213 [Τανέωc]: cf. ll. 75 ff.
 230 [Βεαδ]: cf. 205 note.
 231 ρκγ (ήμυ): correct, discounting the entries for Mecheir.
 246 ρμ[θ χ(ολ.) η]: restored, disregarding the entries for Mecheir.
 248 πόλ(εωc): cf. 3181, 5 note.
 ι (έτους): cf. 115 note.
 251 (πρότερον) 'Ανθου: an ousia belonging to one Anthus is well known in the Fayum (references in Rostovtzeff, *Soc. & Ec. Hist. Rome* 11, p. 672 no. 31; Parsons, *Chr. d'Ég.* 44 (1969) 315). This is its first attestation for the Oxyrhynchite Nome.
 252 επ[ε]μάτων: i.e. loans of seed which had been issued by the state, and responsibility for the collection of which fell to the granary officials.
 253 πρ[ο]σ[ο]δών: cf. P. Petaus 44. 57 note. The figure at the end of the line was ι or ρ.
 254 λ[.] άναληπ(): the dotted letters are damaged but reasonably secure. The last six letters must represent some form or cognate of άναλαμβάνω in the sense of 'confiscate': least violent palaeographically would be άναληπ(των), for which cf. P.S.I. I 104. 14 (Mendesian Nome). Then the initial word must be an abbreviation, most plausibly λ[ημ(μάτων)]; cf. perhaps I 57. 11 άνειληφέναι εν λήμμασι διοικήσεωc.
 (πρότερον) Καλουίου Ιου[σ]του: a tender to purchase from the state land near Pela which had formerly belonged to Marcus Salvius Justus is soon to be published, and no doubt refers to the same man. Perhaps to be identified with the Salvius Justus antarchiereus known from XLII 3026 i 18-19.
 256 f. φθ[ο]ρη διοικήσεωc ε[ξ] άναπ[ο]μ[η]π[η]c έκ[α]λο[γ]ι[σ]το[υ]: this category of land does not occur

elsewhere, but despite the loss of a few letters the reading seems inevitable. It seems natural to understand φόρου γη as the counterpart to γη εν εκφορίαc; i.e., land on which rental was to be collected in money rather than in kind; cf. the Ptolemaic γη προς χαλκων διοικουμένη. If this is so, the artaba sign at the end of the line introduces the old rental in kind, which would still have to be accounted for in official reports.

That the ελλογιετης was able to alter the tax status of parcels of land is not directly attested elsewhere, but fits well with the known duties of this official; see the bibliography in P. Petaus p. 138 n. 1.

258 όμ[ο]ίωc: a considerable space was left blank between ο and μ, perhaps to avoid a flaw in the papyrus.

261 επ[ι]: in this text most probably επ[ι]καλαμών, a charge which is prominent in the recto account; cf. 3169, 12 note. For other possibilities see the index to Wallace's *Taxation*.

263 μ(υράc): the μ has degenerated to a simple stroke under α; similarly in l. 266.

265 άμμοχάωc(ω): spelled άμμόχωωc in V.B.P. 90, 27 and B.G.U. I 108, 1 (W. Chr. 227); other words in which a spelling in cc varies with one in cr are listed in P. Petaus p. 89. This is the first attestation of the term applied to land outside the Fayum; its presence in Sinary perhaps indicates that the latter was located near the desert.

(άρτ.): artabae and not arurae because the sitologi were concerned with the dues on the land, not with its area. Since this grain formed part of the total tax assessment, the reason for failure to collect it had to be stated; cf. perhaps 256 f. note.

266 μ(υράc) α 'Αχδ (ήμυ) υβ[ι]c: this figure represents the remainder after line 265 is deducted from the total of lines 263-4 ($15,110\frac{1}{4} + 506 = 15,616\frac{1}{4}$). But no possible reading of l. 265 will permit the arithmetic to stand uncorrected; most attractive is to restore in l. 265 'Ατ (ήμυ) [dis] (i.e. 1,016 $\frac{1}{2}$). This would account for the fractions in l. 266 and make the error exactly five, 14,604 $\frac{3}{4}$ against a correct 14,599 $\frac{3}{4}$.

267 'στ[ε]c (ήμυ): it is not clear what this figure refers to.

3171.¹ SUBSCRIPTIONS TO A DECREE (?)

22 3B. 15/D (7-8)b

19.5 × 14.5 cm.

c. A.D. 214-50

A darkish brown sheet of papyrus, intact at all margins except the top and containing a list of signatures of buleutae, each written in a different hand and followed by the word εδοξε. On palaeographical grounds the document appears to belong to the first half of the third century, and this dating is confirmed by the identification of one of the signatories with a man attested in I 70, of 212-13 (see l. 5, note). The back of the papyrus is blank.

The titles of the signatories lead to the conclusion that this document is to be connected with the bule of Oxyrhynchus, but the loss of the top of the papyrus (including whatever prescript there may have been) leaves its purpose open to conjecture. It seems likely to have been an official record of the members of the bule who supported a ψήφισμα, but it is impossible to say whether a counterpart - a list of signatories with the words ουκ εδοξε - will have been made. The normal procedure in the later third century seems to have been for the bule to discuss any issue until agreement was reached or until stalemate resulted in the discussion being postponed or the matter being referred to another official

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 1 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV.

(see *The Town Councils*, pp. 37–8). But even in the event of a unanimous resolution some kind of official record such as this would probably be desirable.

Three of the signatories in this document (ll. 6, 9, 19) do not have any other titles apart from that of *buleutae*. If we accept that titles are unlikely to be omitted in a document of this nature, three out of the seventeen *buleutae* whose names are in a good state of preservation had not held any of the major municipal offices.¹ This statistic is of some interest in view of the calculation of Wegener ('The Bouleutai of the Metropoleis', *Symbolae Van Oven*, p. 164) that one-third of the *buleutae* in the third century had not held any of the *ἀρχαί*. The proportion of slightly more than one-sixth yielded by 3171 is likely to be more accurate; the high proportion of one-third, yielded by collection of *buleutae* from various documents, can probably be explained by the fact that the titles were not infrequently omitted (cf. *The Town Councils*, pp. 29–30).

The names themselves, with two exceptions, are unremarkable. *Νικόβουλος* (l. 13) is not very common, *Ῥοδιητός* (l. 18) unattested elsewhere. The use of the *praenomen* Marcus in these two cases alone suggests that these were probably men who had received their citizenship before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* and wished to display this distinction. The titles are also unremarkable, but it is noteworthy that a high proportion of these *buleutae* had been or were *agoranomi* (cf. *SB V* 7696.74); except in l. 5 (see note) it is impossible to tell whether the offices are current or previous ones since all the titles are abbreviated and either resolution would satisfy the requirements of the normal order. All the names except for two are in the nominative; the exceptions satisfy the grammatical requirements of *ἔδοξε* by employing the dative.

- (m. 1) ἔδ]οξε.
 (m. 2) [.]. ἔδοξε.
 (m. 3) *Ἀυρήλιος Ἡρα*[c. 12] *βουλ(ευτής)*. ἔδοξε.
 (m. 4) *Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπολλω*[.]. () *βουλ(ευτής)*. ἔδοξε.
 5 (m. 5) *Ἀυρήλιος Πτολεμαῖος ὁ καὶ Ἡ[ρ]ακλείδης ἀγορανομ(ήσας) βουλευτής*.
 ἔδοξε.
 (m. 6) *Ἀυρήλιος Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων ὁ καὶ Θεών βουλ(ευτής)*. ἔδοξε.
 (m. 7) *Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπολλωνιανὸς ἀγορ(ανομ) βουλ(ευτής)*. ἔδοξε.
 (m. 8) *Ἀυρήλιος Σεργῆνος κοσμητ() βουλ(ευτής)*. ἔδοξε.
 (m. 9) *Ἀυρήλιος Διονύσιος βουλευτής*. ἔδοξε.
 10 (m. 10) *Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπίων Διογ(ένους) γυ(μνασιαρχ) βουλ(ευτής)*. ἔδοξε.
 (m. 11) *Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος ἀγο(ρανομ) βουλ(ευτής)*. ἔδοξε.
 (m. 12) *Ἀυρήλιος Δίδυμος ἀγορανομ() βουλ(ευτής)*. ἔδοξε.

¹ That is, beginning the count at l. 4. I omit l. 3 because there could have been an *alías* or another title in the lacuna.

- (m. 13) *Μάρκος Ἀυρήλιος Λεωνίδης ὁ καὶ Νικόβ(ουλος) ἀγορανομ()*
 βουλ(ευτής). ἔδοξε.
 (m. 14) *Ἀ]πολλώνιος ἐξηγητ() βουλ(ευτής)*. ἔδοξε.
 15 (m. 15) *Ἀ]υρήλιος Νεικίας ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος ἀγορανομ() βουλ(ευτής)*.
 ἔδοξε.
 (m. 16) *Ἀυρ[η]λίωv Καραπίων ἀγορανομ() βουλ(ευτή) ἔδοξε*.
 (m. 17) *Ἀυρ]ήλιος Θεών ἀγορανομ() βουλ(ευτής)*. ἔδοξε.
 (m. 18) *Μ[άρ]κος Ἀυρήλιος Ῥοδιητὸς καὶ ὡς χρημ(ατίζω) βουλ(ευτής)*.
 ἔδο[ξε].
 (m. 19) *Ἀυρρηλίωv Ὡρείων βουλ(ευτή) ἔδοξε*.
 20 (m. 20) *Ἀυρήλιος Πλούταρχος ἀγο(ρανομ) βουλ(ευτής)*. ἔδοξε.
 19 l. Ὡρίων

'(3 ff.) . . Aurelius Hera . . councillor: resolved. Aurelius Apollo . . (ex-?) . . councillor: resolved. Aurelius Ptolemaeus also called Heraclides, ex-agoranomus, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Agathodaemon also called Theon, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Apollonianus, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Serenus, (ex-?) *cosmetes*, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Dionysius, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Apion son of Diogenes, (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Apollonius, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Didymus, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor: resolved. Marcus Aurelius Leonides also called Nicobulus, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Apollonius, (ex-?) *exegetes*, councillor: resolved. Aurelius Nicias also called Dionysius, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor: resolved. I, Aurelius Sarapion, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor, resolved. Aurelius Theon, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor: resolved. Marcus Aurelius Rhodienus and however I am styled, councillor: resolved. I, Aurelius Horion, councillor, resolved. Aurelius Plutarchus, (ex-?) agoranomus, councillor: resolved.'

1 Only the bottom loop of the xi can be readily identified.

2 Traces of five letters; presumably the end of Aurelius and the beginning of the following name.

5 For another attestation of the same man see I 70, 2–3: *Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλείδου ἀγορανομήσαντος βουλευτοῦ* (A.D. 212–13, see *BL* I, 314). Hence the office of agoranomus may safely be assumed to be a previous one, for 3171 was written after the use of the *nomen* Aurelius became current (i.e. after 214, see Millar, *JEA* 48 (1962) 128–9). The identification also makes it certain that 3171 is to be connected with the *bule* of Oxyrhynchus, since Ptolemaeus–Heraclides is stated in 70 to be a *buleutes* of Oxyrhynchus.

11 P.S.I. I 74, of the third century, attests an *Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος ἀγ[ο]ρανομήςας βουλευτής*, who could well be the same man; but the name is very common.

14 The *nomen* Aurelius was probably omitted here. If it was included in an abbreviated form the signature will have commenced some way to the left of the others.

18 I cannot parallel the name *Ῥοδιητός*, but the reading seems beyond doubt; presumably a variant of *Ῥόδιος* (e.g. I.L.S. 1523).

20 A *buleutes* named Aurelius Plutarchus is attested in P.Osl. III 111. 9, 11 of A.D. 235.

3172. RECEIPT FOR POLL TAX

36 4 B. 94/F(a)

9.5 × 5.5 cm.

16 July A.D. 219

Receipt for 12 drachmas paid for poll tax. Since the receipt was issued by the collector of metropolitan taxes at Oxyrhynchus, this amount is to be understood as full payment of a year's dues at the privileged rate on μητροπολίται δωδεκάδραχμοι rather than as an instalment toward the higher rate (probably 16 drachmas, S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 126–7). This is the only Oxyrhynchite λαογραφία receipt yet published which post-dates the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, though the composite receipt XLIII 3107 includes payment for this tax. See Wallace, p. 134.¹

- ἔτους δευτέρου Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἄντων[ίνου]
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Ἐπειφ κβ. διαγέγρα(φεν) [Αὐρηλ(ίω)]
 Ἐρμεινῶν πράκ(τορι) μητροπ(όλεως) λαογραφ(ίας) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ἔτου[ς]
 Αὐρήλι(ος) Ἡρακλειδ(ης) Χαυρήμονος τοῦ κ(αί) Ἀμμω[
 5 Ταχώνσιο(ς) δραχμ(ὰς) δώδεκα, (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) ιβ.

¹Year two of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, Epeiph 22. Aurelius Heraclides, son of Chaeremon also called NN and Tachonsis, has paid to Aurelius Herminus, collector of metropolitan taxes, for poll tax of the same year, twelve drachmae, total 12 dr.¹

4 At the end of the line will have stood an abbreviation or symbol for μητρός.

3173. REQUEST FOR PAYMENT²

23 3 B. 11/D(16)b

12.5 × 14.5 cm.

July/August A.D. 222

Part of a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος containing one document complete except at the foot and the remains of another to the left. The preserved text contains a request for payment from two μισθωταί βαλανείου addressed to the prytane of Oxyrhynchus; the contractors ask that the treasurer of the city fund be ordered to make the payment. For contractors (who are not liturgists) in connexion with the baths of Oxyrhynchus see XXXI 2569 (cf. N. Lewis, *BASP* 7 (1970) 109); supervision of such officials and their expenditures by the bule in the third century is discussed in full in *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 87–9. This text (to which 3176 offers an almost exact parallel) is of particular interest in that it provides a date for the term of office of the prytane Lucius Calpurnius

¹ The editor would like to escape this conclusion by interpreting the date as year 2 of Marcus Aurelius. The original can be assigned palaeographically to either date. But Bureth's list indicates that the titles of Verus would have appeared in a date of 2 Marcus and Verus. PSI V 457 is misleading as a parallel: it dates from the late third century, and the date in line 12 is actually restored after Μάρκου []; θεοῦ (or θεῶν) is also to be expected in it.

² Described as P. Oxy. ined. 14 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

Gaius who is already known from XXXIV 2723 (see 1 n.). The back of the papyrus is blank.

- (m. 1) Γαίω Καλπουρνίω Αρν[κ]ίω [καὶ ὡς [χρημα(τιζέει)] γυμνα-
 κείαρχω ἐνάρχω πρυτάνει τῆς [Ἰ]Οξ(υρρυχιτῶν) πό[λ]ι(εως)
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Τυράννου Ἰτ[ολ]εμαίου
 μητρὸς Ταυσίριος καὶ Ἀπει[ι]τος
 5 Ἰτολλίωπος μητρὸς Ἐρμ[ι]όνης
 ἀμφοτέρων μισθωτῶν βαλανείου
 πρῶτερον Ἀρρίου Ἀπολιναρίου νυνεὶ
 δὲ τῆς πό[λ]ι(εως) αἰ[τ]ησ[α]μεθα ἐπισταλῆναι
 ἐκ τοῦ τῆς π[ό]λε[ως] λόγου ὑπὲρ μισθῶν
 10 ἧς προϊ[ύ]μεθα ὑπηρεσίας τοῦ ὄντος
 μητρὸς Μ[ε]σορή δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας
 καὶ ἀξιοῦμεν ἐπιστεῖλαι ἐπὶ ταμίᾳ τῶν
 πολιτικ[ῶν] χρημάτων ἐξοδια(μ)ὸν
 ἡμῶν ποι[ή]σασθαι τῶν προκειμένων
 15 δραχμῶν πεντακοσίων. (ἔτους) α.
 Αὐτοκράτορος Κ[αί]σαρος Μ[άρ]κου Αὐρηλίου
 Σεουήρου [Ἀ]λεξάνδρου Εὐσε[βο]ῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
 Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ, Μεσορή . . . (m. 2) [Α]ὐρηλιος[ς] Τ[ύ]ραννος[ς]
 20 Ἰτολεμαίου αἰτοῦ[μαι] τὰς δραχμὰς
 [πεντακοσίας ὡς πρόκειται.]

2 πο^λ 7 ι. νυνε

¹To Gaius Calpurnius Lucius and however he is styled, gymnasiarch prytane-in-office of the city of the Oxyrhynchites from the Aurelii Tyrannus son of Ptolemaeus whose mother is Tausiris and Apeis son of Ptolion whose mother is Hermione, both contractors of the bath formerly belonging to Arrius Apolinarius but now belonging to the city. We ask to have remitted from the city account on behalf of wages for the service which we are performing in the present month of Mesore five hundred drachmas and we request that you order the treasurer of the city funds to make the payment to us of the abovementioned five hundred drachmas. Year 1 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Mesore . . . (m. 2) I, Aurelius Tyrannus son of Ptolemaeus, request the five hundred drachmas as mentioned above.¹

¹ In the third name only the lambda is certain. I have restored the name on the basis of XXXIV 2723. 1 and assumed this to be the same man with a reversal of names. Since he is also prytane-in-office in 2723, that document is very likely to date to 222 (see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 61–5, 131); this supposition gains additional support from XXXVIII 2848 which mentions a Calpurnius Firmus in A.D. 225. On the other hand, it is remotely possible that the third name in 2723 is to be taken as a patronymic and that the third name here is to be read as a genitive (patronymic). Combining the evidence of the two documents we would then have four generations: Lucius

(Calpurnius), father of the prytane of 3173; Gaius Calpurnius son of Lucius, the prytane of 3173; Lucius Calpurnius son of Gaius, the prytane of 2723 and son of the prytane of 3173; his son, Lucius Calpurnius Firmus (2723). Altogether, this seems uneconomical and the generations are rather crowded if we assume, as we would have to do, that the same family provided two prytanes between 214 (the *terminus post* for the date of 2723 being the *Constitutio Antoniniana*) and 222, given that the father is likely to have preceded the son in office. On the assumption that the two presidents are one and the same man, the restoration of [καὶ ὧς] [χρημα(τι)εῖ] here will stand in place of the Alexandrian titles in 2723. 1.

4 The name of the second contractor is difficult to read here, but is much clearer in 3176.

7 For a private bath becoming public property cf. B.G.U. IV 1130. 9-10: βαλανείων δημόσιον [πρότερον Λιοῦ]δόνος τοῦ Ἰαδίουρου.

10 Compare XXXI 2569 where the contractor for the drawing of water for the baths refers to his service as an *ὑπηρέσια*.

12-13 For the treasurer of city funds see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 44-6.

18-20 The restoration is on analogy with C.P.Herm. 66-7. A singular subscription has been preferred because the traces of the last three letters of the verb suit αἰτοῦ[μ]εῖ much better than αἰτοῦ[μ]εθ[η]. On the other hand it would be possible to read two names with ἀξίω: Αἰὺρήλιος[ι Τ]ῆβραν[ο]ς καὶ Ἀπειὸς ἀξίω[μ]ε[ν] τῆς δραχμᾶς κτλ.

3174. TAXATION REPORT

20 3B. 31/E (1-5) c

5.5 × 15 cm.

A.D. 229/30

On the front we have a routine monthly summary report of tax collected sent to the strategus by a *πράκτωρ ἀργυρικών*. For a list of parallels see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 484 n. 230.

The back is not routine. The first line is obviously meant to be an iambic trimeter containing a *gnome*, but it is corrupt as it stands; there is a similar occurrence on the back of VI 966 (likewise corrupt) and in SB VI 9254. 13 f. (I owe these references to Dr D. Hagedorn). The second line is a dating formula with, apparently, a reference to *dies Mercurii*. The remainder of the space is filled with two pen and ink drawings. The script of the back is thin and straggling, with narrow letter forms; sigma is an upright with shallow curves at top and foot, upsilon is composed of a spiral like the drachma-sign with a short diagonal stroke at the left, and the cursive beta in l. 17 contrasts sharply with the general character of the script.

- Αὐρηλ(ίω) Λεωνίδη
στρα(τηγῶ) Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)
παρὰ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Κορη-
λίου Στεφάνου πρά(κτορος)
5 ἀργ(υρικών) Ἰβιώνος Χύ(εως)
κω(μητικῶν) λημμάτ(ων). διαστολ(ή)
ἀριθ(μῆσεως) μη(γός) Χοίακ
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος θ (ἔτους)

Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου

10 Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου

Καί[αρο]ς τοῦ κυρίου.

ἔτσι δέ·

λημμάτ(ων) τοῦ

διελθ(όντος) η (ἔτους)

15 ἀπομοί(ρας) (δραχμαί) φ.

Back → (m. 2) Ἔθος ἐστὶν μν[.]ιου ἐντυχεῖν τοὺς πλουσίους.
(Ἔτους) ε Φαμενώθ ιβ ἡ[.]μέρα Ἐρμοῦ.

'To Aurelius Leonides, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Cornelius son of Stephanus, collector of the money taxes of the village revenues for Ibibon Chysis. Classified list of the reckoning for the month Choiak of the current 9th year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord. As follows: of the revenues from the *apomoira* tax for the past 8th year 500 dr.'

1 Αὐρηλ(ίω) Λεωνίδη: a well-known and long-serving strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, in office at least from September 229 (XXVII 2473) until some time in 236/7 (XII 1405, P.S.I. X 1121); cf. Mertens, *Chr. d'Ég.* 31 (1956) 352-5. Two other taxation reports addressed to him by *πράκτορες* (in this case *στεφανικῶν*) are to be found in P.S.I. VII 733.

5 Ἰβιώνος Χύ(εως): also found at XII 1442. 2, XIV 1637. 27, 1724. 13 and XXXIV 2712. 7. From the present papyrus we see that Grenfell and Hunt's doubts (1637. 27 n.) whether the village was Oxyrhynchite were unfounded.

6 κω(μητικῶν) λημμάτ(ων): analogy, e.g. with XII 1405. 20 ff., εἰς πρακτορείαν ἀργυρικών κωμ[η]-τικῶν λημμάτων τῆς αὐτῆς Κυκέρφα, suggests that this goes with what precedes rather than with what follows.

διαστολ(ή): regularly used of summary reports; on its meaning see Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg. 1 recto, col. ii. 18 n., and Youtie, *TAPA* 95 (1964) 313 n. 43.

7 Χοίακ: 27 November-26 December 229.

15 ἀπομοί(ρας): the reading is not above suspicion palaeographically, but from parallel documents it is certain that what we have here is the name of a tax, and the only possibility would seem to be the *apomoira*. We know that this tax was collected in money at this date (Wallace, *op. cit.* 53-6) and it is mentioned in the tax returns P. Fay. 41 (A.D. 186) and VII 1046 (A.D. 218/19).

Below this line there is a blank space of 2.5 cm. The report may therefore be complete. No further taxes were recorded.

16 I have not found this saying elsewhere. After ἐστ(ί)ν the next letter is either mu or eta, followed by nu; between this and *ιου* there is a blot, which may obscure two letters or there may have been nothing written here. *μυός* does exist (= *ἀπαλός*), but the word would be out of place among the other very ordinary words and would hardly give point to the line. No doubt μν[.]ιου is corrupt. If one of the drawings is meant to represent Midas (see below) it is possible that the writer was aiming at *ἡμίονος* (suggested by Turner), but if so the corruption must extend beyond this one word.

17 ἡ[.]μέρα Ἐρμοῦ: in several customs accounts of the Roman period (P. Lond. III 964 (p. 211), 1169 (p. 43), SB IV 7365, P. Osl. III 121; cf. B.G.U. III 812, P. Leit. 14) the entry on certain days reads simply Ἐρμῆς, and this is to be explained as a day on which no business was done (there were no receipts), see Wilcken, *Arch. f. Pap.* 11 (1935) 137, Clauson, *Aegyptus* 9 (1928) 273 ff. But in these instances Ἐρμῆς is always nominative and is never accompanied by ἡμέρα, therefore I do not believe they can be a parallel for what we have here. Nor is the reference likely to be a festival day of Hermes, since 12 Phamenoth is not known to have been one.

The true explanation, I suggest, is that *ἡμέρα Ἑρμοῦ* = *dies Mercurii*. In fact Youtie has calculated, using the tables in V. Grumel, *Chronologie*. . . , 316, that if the sixth year be referred to Gordian, 12 Phamenoth was indeed a Wednesday. The date given is therefore 8 March 243, which suits well enough with the date of the front.

If this be accepted, the papyrus adds to our scanty knowledge of reckoning by the planetary week in Egypt. In P.S.I. VII 843 we meet the expression *ἄχρις τῆς Ἑρμοῦ* 'until the day of Hermes', but this is a Christian letter of late Byzantine date. Much more relevant to the present case, indeed a close parallel, is a text I know only from its quotation by Schürer, *Zeitschr. f. NT Wissensch.* vi (1905) 23-4: it is a wooden tablet on which is written *Ἀνθήλιος Θεόδωρος Ἀνουβίου ἐγραψα τῇ κθ' ἡμέρᾳ Ἰλλίου*, followed by the names of the consuls for the year A.D. 294, and then by a note on the Iliad copied out several times; at the foot stands *μῦθος Φαρμουθι(?) ἡμέρα Ἰλλίου*. Cf. also XLII 3026 i 7 note.

The classic study on the use of planetary names for the days of the week is the article by Schürer just cited (pp. 1-66, esp. 13-39); cf. also F. H. Colson, *The Week* (1926), chap. 3; Gundel, *RE* xx (1950) 2143-7; and Bickerman, *Chronology* (1968) 58-61. Dio xxxvii 18 states *τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀστέρων τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ πλάνητας ὀνομαζομένους τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνακείμεθα κατέστη μὲν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, παρέσθη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπων, οὐ πάσαι ποτὲ ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀρξάμενοι*. Whether the origin of the planetary week is to be sought in Egypt seems doubtful, though it is possible that it emerged in Hellenistic Alexandria (cf. Gundel, *loc. cit.*). Dio is likely to be right in asserting that it is of comparatively recent origin, at any rate in a Graeco-Roman milieu. The earliest example would appear to be Tibullus i. 3. 18 and there is evidence also that it was known at Pompeii. Colson, *op. cit.* 18, concludes that 'by the beginning of the third century A.D. the habit of measuring time in cycles of seven days, each of them dedicated to one of the seven planets, had become universal or at least general in private life throughout the Roman empire, though it had not received official recognition'.

The text quoted by Schürer is undoubtedly the work of a schoolboy and the same may well be true of 3174. If so it is an interesting piece of evidence for the learning of planetary names in school. On this question see Colson, *op. cit.* 24, with reference in particular to Dositheus (*Corp. Gloss. Lat.*, ed. Goetz, III, p. 58).

Below this line are two drawings. The first is a rectangle crossed by two diagonal strokes from NW to SE, and with five uprights in the resulting triangles; in the SW corner are two circles. A town-plan? (Youtie), or an abacus? The second is a face, with large ears and perhaps a protruding tongue. Midas? (Parsons).

3175. RECEIPT FOR ENTRANCE-FEES¹

26 3 B. 52/J (1-3) a

20 × 18 cm.

11 (?) January-March A.D. 233

A piece of a *τόμος συγκολλημένος* containing one document in its entirety and to the left the ends of five lines of another document; the join, it is noticeable, has been made by placing the right-hand piece over the left-hand one. The preserved document is written along the fibres and is complete at all margins. Two narrow vertical strips have been lost, extending from midway down the papyrus to the bottom, and there has been some abrasion of the ends of lines. The back of the papyrus is blank.

The preserved document contains two receipts for payment of interest on *εἰσπτήρια* to the bule of Oxyrhynchus; the treasurer of the buleutic fund acknowledges to the heirs of a deceased buleutes payments of 100 and 200 drachmas.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 12 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV. In editing this text I have had the benefit of a preliminary transcript by P. J. Parsons.

The word *εἰσπτήριον* originally meant a sacrifice made upon taking office. Demosthenes refers to sacrifices made by and on behalf of the bule in Athens (19. 190, 21. 114) and Cassius Dio uses the same term in connexion with the Roman senate (45. 17). The same ritual were observed in regard to individual offices, e.g. Heliodorus 7. 2: *ἐπὶ τὴν προφητείαν κληθέντος καὶ τὰς εἰσπτηρίους θυσίας πανδημεῖ τελοῦντος* and a priestess *πεπληρωκυῖα τὴν ὑδροφορίαν εὐεβῶς καὶ φιλοδόξως ποιήσασα τὸ εἰσπτήριον πᾶσιν ἀπαρτηρήτως* (T. Wiegand, *Didyma* II, 314. 10). The word is used elsewhere in papyri only once. In P. Ryl. II 77. 35-6 it is stated that if Achilleus wishes to be crowned as exegetes *εἰσενεγκάτω τὸ εἰσπτήριον ἐντεῦθεν*, and Achilleus replies that he has accepted an exegeteia on condition of contributing (*εἰσφέρειν*) two talents per year. As the editors remarked in a note, this does not seem to be a formal entrance-fee for the office, but rather the contribution promised for the year's service; this must be distinguished from the *στέπτικόν* or crown-payment exacted for the privilege of wearing the crown of office (see 3177). In the present text, however, it is clear that the *εἰσπτήρια* constitute the entrance-fee to the bule of Oxyrhynchus paid by members on election.

The practice of exacting such a fee for entry to the local councils in the provinces is known from other sources. The evidence has been collected and discussed by P. D. A. Garnsey.¹ The most explicit evidence for it in the Roman provinces is provided by Pliny the Younger in two letters to Trajan. In *Ep.* 10. 39. 5 he refers to new baths being built at Claudiopolis '*et quidem ex ea pecunia, quam buleutae additi beneficio tuo aut iam obtulerunt ob introitum aut nobis exigentibus conferent*'. It appears, therefore, that in the early second century it was the custom for buleutae additionally enrolled by imperial favour to pay an entrance-fee. Pliny is more explicit in *Ep.* 10. 112. 1, mentioning the provisions of the *lex Pompeia* on this matter: '*eos qui in buleis a censoribus leguntur, dare pecuniam non iubet: sed ii, quos indulgentia tua quibusdam civitatibus super legitimum numerum adicere permisit, et singula milia denariorum et bina intulerunt. Amicius deinde Maximus proconsul eos etiam, qui a censoribus legerentur, dumtaxat in paucissimis civitatibus aliud aliis iussit inferre. Superest ergo, ut ipse dispicias, an in omnibus civitatibus certum aliquod omnes, qui deinde buleutae legentur, debeant pro introitu dare*'. Trajan's reply (of which the last statement is a notorious textual problem)² advocates preserving the *status quo* ('*sequendam cuiusque civitatis legem puto*'), an excellent example of legal provision being subject to gradual *de facto* change. A letter from Hadrian to the bule of Ephesus provides an example of the supernumerary entries mentioned by Pliny. The Emperor, recommending a certain Lucius Erastus for membership, writes: [εὐ]χετα[ι] δὲ βουλευτῆς γενέσθαι καὶ γὰρ τ[ῆ]ν μὲν [δοκιμασίαν ἐφ'] ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐμποδῶν [έστιν αὐτῷ ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τ]υμῆς ἄξι[ος], τὸ ἀργύριον σεον διδόντων οἱ βουλευόντες [δῶσω τῆς ἀρχαι]ρεσίας [έ]ννεκα.³ In a letter of A.D. 158 to the inhabitants of a Macedonian city, the Emperor Antoninus wrote: [β]ουλευται ὀδοήκοντα ὑμῶν ἔστωσαν, διδόντω δὲ ἕκαστος πεντακοσίας Ἀττικάς, ἕνα ἀπό

¹ 'Honorarium Decurionatus', *Historia* 20 (1971) 309-25.

² See Jones, *Phoenix* 22 (1968) 138-9; Vidman, *Listy Filologické* 92 (1969) 236-8.

³ *SIG*³ 838 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 85.

μὲν τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς βουλῆς ἀξίωμα ὑμῶν προσγένηται, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ δώσουσιν, πρόσκοδος.¹ Although it is difficult to be sure whether or not this is an extraordinary imposition, it is clear that all the members of the *bule* would pay it; and in the course of the second century the practice of exacting entrance-fees from all *buleutae* became normal.

It might, therefore, reasonably have been surmised that entrants into the *bulae* of the metropoleis in Egypt (established by the reforms of Septimius Severus at the beginning of the third century) were required to pay an entrance-fee. This papyrus attests the fact, and a good many details can now be added. The new evidence is of particular value as being the only detailed attestation of payment of such an entrance-fee to the *bule*; such an exaction will have been made in all the cities of the Empire which possessed *bulae* and there is no reason to think that the practice in Egypt will have differed appreciably from that elsewhere.

1. THE AMOUNT

The heirs of Antonius Priscus, late *buleutes* of Oxyrhynchus, pay a sum of 200 drachmas in Tybi εἰς τόκ(ου) ὧν ὀφείλ(ει) . . . βουλ(ευτικῶν) εἰσιτηρίων and a sum of 100 drachmas in Phamenoth for the same purpose. Since Mecheir is omitted and there is no mention of the amount for Tybi covering any arrears of payment, it is tempting to propose the working hypothesis that the interest due was 100 drachmas per month, totalling 1,200 drachmas per year. If the interest is being paid at the normal rate of 12 per cent (and there is no reason to suppose otherwise), the principal amount will then have been 10,000 drachmas. This, it may be supposed, was the amount exacted as an entrance-fee to the *bule* of Oxyrhynchus in the earlier part of the third century and it will have been paid only once by each individual, on election to the *bule*. This, at least, is the minimum figure (see below).

In *Ep.* 10. 112 Pliny is imprecise about the amounts paid in Bithynia by supernumerary *buleutae* ('*et singula milia denariorum et bina intulerunt*'), obviously for the good reason that the amounts were not precisely established. At any rate, we learn that such members were in the habit of paying the equivalent of 4,000 or 8,000 drachmas '*ob introitum*'. In the letter of Antoninus the amount laid down is 500 Attic drachmas (i.e. 2,000 drachmas),² but this could be an extraordinary levy of some kind; nor is it clear whether the instruction is to set up *de novo* a *bule* of eighty members or to increase an existing *bule* up to 80.³ There is therefore no ground for suggesting that the rate was a standard one throughout the Empire. In fact, such evidence as is available suggests that the amount varied from place to place. 20,000 sesterces are attested for the *decurionate* in

¹ *SEG* XIV 479 = *IGBulg.* 2663, cf. Oliver, *AῖPh.* 79 (1958) 52-60.

² See *P. Beatty Panop.* 2. 30-1 note.

³ For provisions for increasing numbers at Tymandus (Pisidia) see Abbott and Johnson, no. 151.

Africa (as well as smaller amounts).¹ With this we might contrast a payment of 6,000 sesterces '*decurionatus nomine*' at Iguvium during the reign of Augustus.² But it is impossible to be sure that each (or any) of these recorded payments represents the full amount required for entrance to a *bule*. At all events, if an 8,000-drachma entrance-fee was being paid by supernumerary *buleutae* (presumably at least moderately well-to-do) in Bithynia during the reign of Trajan, we need not be surprised that the statutory amount exacted from *buleutae* in Oxyrhynchus over a century later was at least 10,000 drachmas.

It is impossible to be certain about the relationship between this amount and the *buleutic* census in the third century. For one thing, there is no evidence as to what the property qualification was for *buleutic* status in third-century Egypt. The *βουλευτική ἀξία* is mentioned (*SB* III 7261) but, as I have tried to show elsewhere,³ the evidence suggests that it was not on the basis of property alone that people were eligible for election to the *bule*. It is clear from X 1274 (third century), where the estate of a person of the gymnasial class is said to be worth 200,000 drachmas, that the minimum property qualification for *buleutic* status was not more than this; but in reality it might have been a good deal less. For the other provinces the only explicit evidence is again provided by Pliny. Writing to a friend and fellow-native of Comum, he says: '*esse autem tibi milium centum censum, satis indicat quod apud nos decurio es*' (*Ep.* 1. 19). This seems to show clearly enough that in the reign of Trajan the qualification for a municipal *ordo decurionum* in Italy was 100,000 sesterces (= 100,000 drachmas). Again, this need not have been a standard amount throughout the provinces; but there is pleasing symmetry in a theory postulating a minimum qualification of 100,000 drachmas as one condition of entry to the *bule*, when the entrance-fee was probably 10,000 drachmas – not more than one-tenth of the supposed qualification. But it must remain a theory, for it is based on the supposition that the 10,000-drachma principal constituted the total entrance-fee.

The *buleutes* will have incurred the charge on his election to the *bule* and will presumably have had the option of paying it in a lump sum or borrowing some or all of it from the *buleutic* fund (see below) and repaying it at interest. There is no mention in the text of any repayment of principal, so two situations are possible. Either Antonius Priscus will have borrowed the whole of the entrance-fee, 10,000 drachmas, paying interest on it until the principal was repaid (which might mean more or less in perpetuity); or the 10,000 drachmas will represent either that portion of the principal which he still owes (the rest having been already repaid), or the whole of the principal loan which was only a part of the total entrance-fee required.

Whatever the case, the debt was probably secured upon his property, the *bule* having the right of execution, and became the liability of the heirs after his death. So, too, the debt of crown-money in 3177 seems to have been secured upon the property

¹ Duncan-Jones, *PBSR* n.s. 17 (1962) p. 103 nos. 345 and 345 a.

² Duncan-Jones, *PBSR* n.s. 20 (1965) pp. 226-7, 286, no. 1325.

³ *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* pp. 25-30.

of the official and became the liability of the purchaser. The interest on the entrance-fee was paid to the ταμίαις of the buleutic fund, an official attested elsewhere only once (XII 1501).

2. THE BULEUTIC FUND

Whereas payments for crowns of office (στεπτικά) accrued to the city fund (πολιτικός λόγος), the sole recipient of entrance-fees to the bule and attached interest was, so far as we can tell, the buleutic fund. This account was evidently internal to the bule, but there is very little evidence for it. Two documents from Oxyrhynchus (XII 1501, XII 1416) show that it provided loans for buleutae and supported expenses incurred in the performance of official duties. Possibly also it provided a source of loans for buleutae to enable them to pay their crown-money (στεπτικόν) for magistracies.¹ The new evidence of it providing loans to enable buleutae to pay their entrance-fees to the bule is therefore in no way surprising.

Whatever other purposes the fund served, it is important to note that there is no evidence for it providing money for the upkeep of amenities and public buildings in the metropolis; these were supported by the πολιτικός λόγος which did not, so far as we know, draw upon the buleutic fund. Hence, whilst in other provinces the resources of the bule were used to contribute toward building baths (Pliny, *Ep.* 10. 39. 5) or paying for the inscription of honorary decrees,² the papyri provide no evidence of this sort. In I 41 there is evidence for some kind of an honorary ψήφισμα for a prytane which has to be referred to the bule, but the financial aspects of this are not mentioned. Nor do we know anything about expenses involved in the upkeep of the βουλευτήριον or other aspects of the functioning of the bule which might have been subsidized by the buleutic fund.

→ (m. 1) Ἀυρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης Δωριῶνος ἀγορ(ανομ)
 βουλευτής ταμίαις βουλ(εντικῶν) χρημάτων τῆς Ὁξυ-
 ρυγχιτῶν π[ό]λ(εως) κληρονόμοις Ἀντιφίππυ Πρίσκου
 ἀγορ(ανομήσαντος) γενο(μένου) βουλ(εντοῦ) χαίρειν. διεγρ(άψατέ) μοι τῆ
 ἐνεστῶσῃ
 5 ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τόκ(ον) ὧν ὀφείλ(ει) ὁ προτεταγ(μένος) Ἀντώνιος Πρίσκ(ος)
 βουλ(εντικῶν) ἰσιτηρίων δραχμᾶς διακοσίας, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) C⁻.
 [(ἔτους)] ιβ
 Ἀυτοκράτ[ο]ρος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀυ[ρηλ]ίου Σεουήρου
 Ἀλεξάνδ[ρ]ου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σε[βα]στοῦ Τῶβι ι. . . (m. 2?)
 Ἀυρήλι(ος)
 Ἡρακλεῖδ[ης] εἰς τὰς τοῦ τόκου δρα[χμ]ᾶς [ε] διακοσίας γί(νονται)
 (δραχμαὶ) C⁻.

¹ Cf. Jouguet, *Revue Égyptologique* n.s. 1 (1919) 66-8.

² *Forschungen in Ephesos* III, no. 57.

10 (m. 1) καὶ τῆ [. . .] τοῦ Φαμενώθ μη(νός) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ιβ (ἔτους) [[Φα]]
 διεγρ(άψατε)
 εἰς λ[όγ]ον τόκ(ον) β[ο]υλ(εντικῶν) εἰσιτηρίων ἄλλ[α]ς δραχμᾶς
 ἐκατ[ὸν] (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ)] ρ⁻. (ἔτους) ιβ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καί[σα]ρος
 Μάρκου
 Ἀυρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς
 Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Φαμενώθ . . . (m. 2?) Ἀυρήλι(ος) Ἡρακλεί-
 15 δης εἰς τὰς τοῦ τόκ[ου] δραχμᾶς [ε]κατὸν γί(νονται) (δραχμαὶ) ρ⁻.
 5 ο in ὁ corr. from λ? 6 ἰσιτηρίων, i. εἰσιτηρίων

'Aurelius Heraclides son of Dorion, (ex-?) agoranomus councillor treasurer of the council funds of the city of the Oxyrhynchites to the heirs of Antonius Priscus, ex-agoranomus formerly councillor, greetings. You have paid to me on the present day for interest on entrance-fees to the council owed by the aforementioned Antonius Priscus two hundred drachmas, that is drachmas 200. Year 12 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Tybi 1. . . (2nd hand?) I, Aurelius Heraclides, have received the two hundred drachmas of interest, that is drachmas 200. (1st hand) And on the . . . th of the month of Phamenoth of the same 12th year you have paid on account of interest on entrance-fees to the council another one hundred drachmas, that is drachmas 100. Year 12 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Phamenoth. . . (2nd hand?) I, Aurelius Heraclides, have received the one hundred drachmas of interest, that is drachmas 100.'

1 As in many cases, a resolution into either ἀγορ(άνομος) or ἀγορ(ανομήσας) would satisfy the normal order of titles.

2 Only one other man with this title is attested, namely Aurelius Ammonius of XII 1501.

3 The second numeral is badly abraded; ρ looks to be the most likely reading, but is at best dubious.

4 Only minute traces of the numerals remain. The first is compatible with either iota or kappa.

3176. REQUEST FOR PAYMENT¹

23 B. 11/D (16)b

9.0 × 15.7 cm.

Reign of Severus Alexander

This papyrus, incomplete at the head and the foot, contains a request for payment almost identical to that in 3173. The contractors involved are the same, the month for which payment is requested is Epeiph. In this document the address and the year are lost, but both could comfortably be restored by analogy with 3173. The hand is different from that of 3173. The back of the papyrus is blank.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 10 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

Traces of two lines

- ἐνάρι]χω πρυτάνι τῆς Ὁξ(υρ)υρχιτῶν πρό]εωσ
 πα]ρ[ἀ] Αὐρηλίων Τυράγνου Πτολεμαίου
 5 καὶ Ἀπειτος Πτολλίων[ο]ς ἀμφοτέρων
 μισθωτῶν βαλανείου πρότερον
 Ἀρρίου Ἀπολωναρίου νυνὶ δὲ τῆς πόλε-
 ωσ. αὐτούμεθα ἐπισταλῆναι ἐκ τοῦ
 τῆς πόλεωσ λόγου ὑπὲρ μισθῶν
 10 ἧς ποιούμεθα ὑπηρεσίας τοῦ δόντος μη-
 νός Ἐπειφ τὰς αἰρούσας τῷδε τῷ μηνὶ
 ἀκολούθως αἰρέσει ἡμῶν δραχμὰς
 πε[ντ]ακοσίας καὶ ἀξιοῦμεν ἐπιστελεῖ
 σε τῷ ταμίᾳ τῶν πολιτικῶν
 15 χρημάτων τὸν ἐξοδιασμὸν
 ἡ]μεῖν ποιήσασθαι τῶν προκειμέ-
 νω]ν δραχμῶν πεντακοσίων.
 (ἔτους) .]. Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου
 Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου
 20 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐ]τυχοῦς [Cεβ]α[στοῦ, Ἐπειφ

1 l. πρυτάνει 13 l. ἐπιστελεῖται 14 l. πολιτικῶν 16 l. ἡμῶν

¹To prytane-in-office of the city of the Oxyrhynchites from the Aurelii Tyrannus son of Ptolemaeus and Apeis son of Ptolion, both contractors of the bath formerly belonging to Arrius Apolinarius but now belonging to the city. We ask to have remitted from the city account on behalf of wages for the service which we are performing in the present month of Epeiph the five hundred drachmas apportioned to this month in accordance with our undertaking and we ask that you order the treasurer of the city funds to make the payment to us of the abovementioned five hundred drachmas. Year n of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Epeiph.

1-2 The address to be restored is certainly the same as in 3173, but the traces are too distorted for any definite reading.

4-5 In 3173, 3-4 the mothers of both the contractors are named.

12 Only the first two letters of αἰρέσει are really clear. I owe the suggestion to Dr R. A. Coles. This phrase is the only significant difference from 3173.

3177. NOTICE OF PAYMENT OF CROWN-MONEY¹

31 4B. 9/H (1-4) d

10.2 × 17.3 cm.

4 October A.D. 247

A light-coloured piece of papyrus, complete except for the loss of several letters from the left-hand side of lines in the upper portion. The document is written in a good third-century business hand, with the letters well formed and clearly separated. The writing is on the front along the fibres. The back is blank except for a few apparently meaningless scrawls which might have been made to clean off the pen preparatory to writing.

The content of the text is straightforward. Aurelia Tanenteris, daughter of a sacred virgin and herself formerly a sacred virgin, sends a notice through Aurelius Osarapis, a *stolistes*, to the treasurer of the city fund stating that she has paid the 500 drachmas owed on a debt of 1,500 drachmas for the crown-money of an *exegeteia* and that she has received a receipt.

The word *στεπτικόν* has hitherto occurred only in one published document. In XII 1413. 6 it is stated with reference to the election of exegetae that a certain Plution owes *στεπτικόν*: ὁ Πλουτίων στεπτικόν ἐτι ὀφείλει ἧς ἀνεδέξατο ἀπὸ τιμῶν ἐξηγητίας. The editors naturally suggested that the term referred to payments for crowns of office and the new evidence supports that view. The practice of crowning magistrates is amply attested in Greece (e.g. Demosthenes 21. 32, 26. 5), and remained current throughout the provinces of the Roman Empire. There are several references in the papyri to crowns of office for metropolitan ἀρχαί before and after the reforms of Septimius Severus (P.Ryl. II 77. 37, 50, SBV 7696. 97, VIII 1117. 5, X 1252 v ii. 20). It is not surprising to find that the privilege of wearing a crown of office was one which had to be bought. An unpublished London papyrus (inv. 1938) is said to contain an account of *στεφανικὸν ἀρχόντων* for A.D. 198 (see Westermann and Schiller, *Apokrimata*, p. 32, Wegener, *Symbolae Van Oven*, p. 175 note 83). There is now evidence that in 247 the crown of an exegetes cost 1,500 drachmas (there being no statement in the text that the amounts mentioned do not constitute the whole of the debt) and that the money was paid into the *πολιτικός λόγος* as distinct from the resources of the board of exegetae or the *bule* (see introd. to 3175). We must therefore make a careful distinction between (1) fees for crowns of office (*στεπτικόν*) accruing to the *πολιτικός λόγος*, as is attested both by 3177 and by the fact that a list of people owing such payments was maintained by the *γραμματεὺς πολιτικῶν* (XII 1413. 7); (2) other resources of the individual *κοινά* of magistrates (gymnasiarchs, exegetae etc.). This was, according to the editors of P.Ryl. II 77, the nature of the payment of two talents promised by Achilles in lines 36 ff., and the fact that two talents is clearly too much for a crown-payment, but a reasonable amount for a contribution to an office lasting probably not less than one year suggests that this surmise was correct. The debt of one talent 5500 drachmas owed by a cosmetes in P.Princ. II 71. 3 is presumably

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 3 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

of the same kind. The payment in P.Ryl. 77 is called an *εἰσπήριον*, but it must not be confused with (3) the fee of the same name exacted from entrants to the bule in the third century (see 3175) which accrued to the private fund of the council (*βουλευτικά χρήματα*).

As I have suggested elsewhere (*The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 43–4), there is no evidence in the third century for a connexion between the officials known as *οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων* and the crowns of office, and the new evidence reinforces the belief that the latter were the concern of officials attached to the *πολιτικός λόγος*. The only possible evidence for such a connexion in the second century is P.Ryl. 77. 27 ff. where *οἱ διέποντες τῆν τῶν στεμμάτων διοίκησιν* appear to have confiscated the keys of a house in connexion with a pretence of *ἀπορία*, but there is no specific reference to a crown-payment here; and since the *ταμίαις πολιτικῶν χρημάτων* is known to have existed before the reforms of Septimius Severus (P.Ryl. II 86. 2 note) it is likely that it was his responsibility in the second century, as in the third, to look after these payments.

→ *Ἀυρηλία Τα]γεντήρις Πετοσίριος*
] μητρὸς ἱεράς παρθένου
 γενο]μένη ἱερά παρθένος δι' ἐμοῦ
 5 *Ἀυρηλίου] Ὁσαράπιος στολιστοῦ πα-*
] *Ἀυρηλίου Ἀθηναίου τῷ καὶ Ἡ-*
ρακλείδῃ κοσμητῇ βουλευτῇ τα-
μία π]ρλειτικῶν χρημάτων τῆς
Ὁξυρρυ]χειτῶν πόλεως χαίρειν.
μ[ετρεβ]αλόμην σοι εἰς τὸν τῆς πόλε-
 10 *ως [λόγ]ον εἰς λόγον στεπτικῶ ἐξη-*
γητρεῖ[ας Α]υρηλίου Σερήνου τοῦ καὶ
]]]]]
μου οἰκίας] παλαιᾶς δις[ς]τέγου ἐπ' ἀμ-
φόδου Δρό]μου Θεοήριδος μεθ' ἂς μετρε-
 15 *βαλόμην τ]ῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τοῦ δι-*
ελθ[όντο]ς δ (ἔτους) διὰ τοῦ μετρηλαχό-
τος μ[ου] πατρός Ἀυρηλ(ίου) Πετοσίριος
καὶ ὡς ἐχρημάτιζεν δραχμάς χειλεί-
ας καὶ νῦν τὰς λοιπὰς δραχμάς
 20 *πεντακόσιας, γίνονται δραχμαὶ*
πεντακόσια, ὧν καὶ ἀποχὴν ἐς-
χον. (ἔτους) ε Ἀυτοκρατόρων
Καيسάρων Μάρκων Ἰουλίων

Φιλίππων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν
 25 *Ἐβαστῶν, Φαῶφι 5̄.*

2 ἱερα_ς 3 ἱερα 7 l. πολιτικῶν 8 l. Ὁξυρρυχτῶν 12 ὕ[π]ερ 18–19 l. χιλίας

'Aurelia Tanenteris, daughter of Petosiris, whose mother was a sacred virgin, herself formerly a sacred virgin, through me Aurelius Osarapis, (hereditary?) *stolistes*, to Aurelius Athenaeus also called Heraclides, cosmetes councillor treasurer of the city funds of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. I have remitted to you for the city account on account of crown-payment for the office of exegetes of Aurelius Serenus also called, the drachmas for the old, two-storey house which I have bought in the Thoeis Street quarter, in addition to the remittance of a thousand drachmas which I made to the same city in the past 4th year through my deceased father Aurelius Petosiris and however he was styled, hereby and now the remaining five hundred drachmas, total drachmas five hundred, for which I have received a receipt. Year 5 of Imperatores Caesares Marci Julii Philippi Pii Felices Augusti, Phaophi 6.'

2–3 There is space for about nine letters at the beginning of line 2. The restoration might be a grandfather's name or *καὶ ὡς ἐχρη(μάτιζεν)* (cf. l. 18) or *ὄσα ἐκ*. It seems unlikely that the mother's name will have occurred at this point. The title of *ἱερά παρθένος* clearly refers to the female attendants of a deity, but it is infrequently attested in Greco-Roman Egypt. It is mentioned in the Canopus Decree of the Ptolemaic period (*OGIS* 56. 66–8): *ὕμεισθα δ' αὐτῆν* (Berenice) *καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιλεγομένων ἱερῶν παρθένων . . . ἀναφέρειν τὰς ἱεράς παρθένους στάχους τοῖς παρατεθηρομένοις τῷ ἀγάλματι τῆς θεοῦ*, and in P. Mert. II 73. 1 of A.D. 163–4 which contains a declaration by a *ἱερά παρθένος* made through a priest of Athena Thoeis, Isis, Sarapis and the *κόνησας θεῶν*. In both attestations, in contrast to the present document, the deities are specified, and since the provenance of P. Mert. 73 is also Oxyrhynchus we might suppose the same deities to be involved. The word required at the beginning of l. 3 seems likely to be *γενο]μένη* in view of the space available. Presumably the mother also ceased to be a sacred virgin at some point before the birth of her daughter.

4–5 For a probable identification see P.S.I. IX 1039 (A.D. 111): *Ἀυρηλιῶ Ὁσαράπι ἀρχιπροφήτῃ καὶ πρωτοστολιστῇ τῶν . . . πρωτολογίμων καὶ λογίμων ἱερῶν*, presumably representing a later stage in his career and therefore to be dated after 247. There is also a *ἱερεὺς* named Osarapis in XXXIII 2679, but if the assignment to the second century is correct he will be a different man; rare though the name is, it is credible that it is attested for two different people both holding religious positions. For the qualification of *στολιστής* (on which see Otto, *Priester und Tempel* 1, pp. 83 ff.) the name of some deity or temple would be appropriate but no obviously suitable restoration presents itself. It is known that such offices could be inherited (P. Teb. II 298, 302, 611, B.G.U. I 162, cf. X 1265, 17 ff.) and *πα[ραδοχίμου]* supplies this sense; it is, however, unless abbreviated, a little too long for the lacuna.

5–6 This man is known from P. Osl. III 111. 258–9, 288–9 where his title is simply *βουλευτής*.

6–7 On the *ταμίαις πολιτικῶν χρημάτων* see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 44–6.

10 On the *στεπτικόν* see introd. For the actual ceremony of crowning (*στεφίμις*) see W. Chr. 41. ii. 8–11, the crowning of a gymnasiarch on Thoth 1; XVII 2147, also perhaps a gymnasiarch on the first of a month; 3202, the crowning of a prytane in Tybi.

12 The first surviving trace is compatible with nu, the last letter could be epsilon or sigma, more probably the latter. The connexion between the debt and ownership of the house is presumably that Serenus' debt of *στεπτικόν* was secured on his property which was subsequently purchased by Aurelia Tanenteris. Such a lien, or freedom from it, is commonly mentioned in contracts of lease or purchase, e.g. IX 1208. 20 ff.; also, in cases of *cessio bonorum* the debts attaching to the property became the responsibility of the person taking it over (see XXXVIII 2854). In the case of non-payment the city would have the right of execution upon the property (cf. SB VI 9315, P. Princ. II 71. 18, XII 1413. 14).

18 ff. I understand the amount of 1,500 drachmas to be the total payment for the crown of an exegetes; otherwise we would expect some such phrase as *ὧν ὀφείλει ὑπὲρ στεπτικῶν*. The amount thus accruing to the city fund must have been quite considerable since there were several magistrates

in each of the individual κοινά per year. The amount of *κρεπτικόν* for the different ἀρχαί might have differed as did the amounts of contribution required for office, see P. Ryl. II 77. 37-9 where it is stated that the position of cosmetes is more expensive than that of exeges, though lower-ranking.

3178. NOMINATION OF A COMARCH

19 2B. 16/F (4-5)a

8.5 × 26 cm.

28 August A.D. 248

The comarch of a Heracleopolite village notifies the nome strategus that he has chosen Pakouis, son of Petesouchus, to succeed him in the comarchy. This is the earliest known nomination of a comarch, and the only one from the Heracleopolite nome. The formula varies in some details from hitherto published nominations, but no essential difference in procedure is indicated. Other nominations of comarchs are P. Flor. I 2 ix and x (Hermopolite, A.D. 265); P. Cair. Isid. 125 (Arsinoite, A.D. 308); P. Goth. 5 (provenance uncertain, A.D. 318); SB VI 9544 (Panopolite, A.D. 322); P. Amh. II 139 (Hermopolite, A.D. 350).

The text begins 9 cm. from the upper edge of the papyrus.

Unless the nominating comarch here is in fact one of a group, and nominates his own successor without mentioning his colleagues, 3178 is an addition to the eleven instances of village administration by a single comarch during the Roman and Byzantine periods listed by H. E. L. Missler, *Der Komarch* (diss. Marburg, 1970), pp. 29-32; cf. F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 154. But the first possibility is hardly to be taken seriously, as it would represent a real difference from the nomination procedure known from three other nomes, and a disadvantageous one for the government, inasmuch as the number of direct sureties for the nominee's future performance would thereby be reduced.

→ Κορνηλι[c. 6 τ]ῷ καὶ Πρόκλῳ
στρατη[γῶ] Ἡρακλεοπολείτου
παρὰ Ἀνρ[ηλίου . . .] νου Ἀρμυνίστιου
ἀπὸ ἐπο[κίου] . . .] ἐρήμου κω-
5 μάρχου [τοῦ αὐτοῦ] ἐποκίου.
αἰροῦμαι ἀ[ντ]ῆ ἐμαντοῦ τῷ ἰδίῳ
κινδύνῳ κατὰ τὸ πρόαγον ἔθος
εἰς τὴν προκειμένην κωμαρχί-
αν πρὸς τὸ εἰσιόν 5 (ἔτος) τὸν ὑπο-
10 [γεγ]ραμμέν[ο]ν ὄντα εὔπ[ο]ρον
[καὶ] ἐπιτήδειον. ἔστι δέ·
Ἰακοῦεις Πετεσοῦχου μητρὸς
'Ανογείριμος (ἐτῶν) ξγ' πόρρον ἔχ(ων).

[(ἔτους)] ε' Ἀντ[ο]κρατόρων Καυάρων
15 [Μάρκων] Ἰου[λίων] Φιλίππων Εὐσεβῶ(ν)
[Εὐτυχιῶν Σεβαστῶ]ν, Μεσορῆ ἐπα-
[γομένων] ε-.
(m. 2) [Αὐρήλιος . . .] νος ἐπιδέδωκα
[ὡς πρόκει]ται. Ἀνρ(ήλιος) Ἡρακλε-
20 [.] ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φάσ-
[κοντος μὴ εἶδ]ε[ῖν] αἱ γράμματα.

6 ἰδῶ

'To Corneli . . . also called Proclus, strategus of the Heracleopolite nome, from Aurelius . . . son of Harmisus, from . . . Farmstead, comarch of the same farmstead. At my own risk and according to previous custom I choose to serve the aforesaid comarchy in place of myself for the coming 6th year the person stated below, who is a man of property and qualified. He is: Pakoueis, son of Petesouchus and Anogeiris, 63 years of age, with means. Year 5 of the Imperatores Caesares Marci Iulii Philippi Pii Felices Augusti, 5th epagomenal day of Mesore.

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius . . ., have submitted as stated. I, Aurelius Heracle . . . have written on his behalf, as he states that he is illiterate.'

1 This strategus was previously unknown.

4 For reasons of space the temptation to read ἐπο[κίου] 'Ερήμου, 'Desert Farmstead', should probably be resisted. Παν[ε]ρήμου would do but is unattested.

5 τοῦ αὐτοῦ: restoration practically certain, as comarchs normally served in their *idia* (Oertel, p. 156).

6 αἰροῦμαι: in the parallels *δίδομαι* καὶ *εἰσαγγέλλομαι* (P. Amh. II 139. 3) *vel sim*. The difference is one of formula and not of procedure, since the number of 'nominees' always matches the number of vacancies. Cf. Oertel, p. 155: the nomination 'hat nur den Charakter einer nachträglichen Bestätigung'.

9 5 (ἔτος): A.D. 248/9.

13 (ἐτῶν) ξγ': the highest age for a comarch or comarch-to-be yet attested; cf. Missler, p. 5 with n. 1, and p. 112. But at this period liturgies could still be imposed up to age 70, and social pressure might induce men to accept even burdens from which they might legally claim exemption: see N. Lewis, *Atti XI Congresso* 508-41, esp. p. 519.

πόρρον ἔχ(ων): the value of the property was not stated. There was room for it to be added.

19-20 Ἡρακλε[δ]ῶρος would do.

19-21 Cf. Missler 105: 'Die Komarchen waren fast alle Analphabeten und mussten sich die Dokumente von anderen schreiben lassen.'

3179. DECAPROTUS RECEIPT

32. 4B. 3/M (1-2)d

17 × 8.5 cm.

A.D. 248/9

Receipt recording the transfer of 3½ artabas of wheat from the account of one Apollonius at Mermertha to pay municipal taxes owed by Ammonarus and Saras (cf. 3181) at Nesmeimis. Other receipts in this exclusively Oxyrhynchite formula are III 613-18, XII 1539, 1540, and XXXI 2591; cf. III 517, 1-2 and XXXVIII 2872, 1. For discussion and bibliography see introd. and commentary to 2588-91; 3169; 3181.

- ↓ διεστάλ(ησαν) πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) € (ἔτους) Μ[ά]ρκων Ἰου[λίων]
 Φιλίππων Καϊσάρων τῶν κυρίων διὰ δεκαπρώτ(ων) Ἄνω [τοπ(αρχίας)]
 θης(αυροῦ) Μερμέρθων ἀπὸ θέμ(ατος) Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Ἡρα[...]
 Ἀμμωνάρου καὶ Σαραπί Ἐπι() Νεσμίειως πόλ(εως) ἀρτ[άβαι]
 5 τρίς τέταρτον ὄγδοον, γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) γδη'. κρλ(λήματος) [...]
 Ἀπερώς σεση(μείωμαι)

'Transferred, of wheat from the crop of the past year 5 of the Marci Iulii Philippi Caesares the lords, through the decaproti of the Upper toparchy, the granary of Mermertha, from the deposit of Apollonius also called . . ., to Ammonarus and Saras, son of Epin(), for municipal dues at Nesmeimis, three and three-eighths artabas, total 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ art. Column. . . Signed by me, Aperos.'

4 Ἐπι() Probably Saras's patronymic, conceivably the name of another village administered together with Nesmeimis. Not ἐπι(μείωσις), since that institution is not attested in the Oxyrhynchite nome, and not ἐπι λ(όγου). For ν, η could be read.

5 κρλ(λήματος) The column of the decaprotus records on which this transaction was recorded, if the reading is correct. Cf. XII 1539. 9 and 17; III 614.

3180. RECEIPT FOR Φόροι, Διδραχμία AND Ζευγματικά

32 4B. 3/M (1-2)a

11 x 10 cm.

4 August A.D. 250

Ammonarus son of Panares pays to a decaprotus a total of twenty-eight drachmas for land-rent, didrachmia and zeugmatika. Cf. notes to l. 5; and for Ammonarus, 3179 and 3181.

- α (ἔτους) Γαίου Μεσσίου Κύντου Τραιανοῦ
 Δεκίου Καίσαρ[ο]ς τοῦ κυρίου, Μεσορή ια'.
 διέγ(ραφεν) Ἀνρή(λίω) Διονυσίω τῷ κ(αί) Ἀπολλωνίω
 δεκαπρώτῳ Ἀπη(λιώτου) τοπ(αρχίας) Ἀνρή(λιος)
 Ἀμμωνάρου
 5 ρος Πανάρου φόρων καὶ (διδραχμίας) καὶ
 ζευγματικῶν λή(μματος)
 τοῦ ἐνε[ε]τῶτ(ος) α (ἔτους) δραχ(μάς) εἴκοσι ὀκτώ,
 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) κη. Ἀνρή(λιος) Λεωνίδης
 σεση(μείωμαι).

'Year 1 of Gaius Messius Quintus Traianus Decius Caesar the lord, Mesore 11. Paid to Aurelius Dionysius also called Apollonius, decaprotus of the Eastern toparchy, by Aurelius Ammonarus, son of Panares, for land-rents and the 2-drachma impost and zeugmatika, for the receipts of the present year 1, twenty-eight drachmas; total, 28 drachmas. Signed by me, Aurelius Leonides.'

5 φόρων: supports the editors' expansion φό(ρου) in XVII 2129. 3, 52, 54 and 73 as against the alternative φο(ρέρου) hesitantly suggested by Wallace, *Taxation* p. 382, n. 89. Φόροι here should

mean the cash rental of state, municipal or usiac lands (*op. cit.* p. 71). On the question whether the decaprotus himself was responsible for leasing such lands see Turner, *JEA* 22 (1936) 9, n. 7, who decides in the negative.

(διδραχμία): cf. P. Lond. III 1217 A (p. 61) and 1157 (pp. 61 ff.); XII 1442 int.; XVII 2129 int.; O. Strass. 580; P. Mert. III 116 int.; Wallace 67 f.

ζευγματικῶν: in P. Lond. III 1157 (pp. 61 ff.) and XVII 2129 this tax is called (μονόδραχος) ζευγματικῶν and as here is found in association with didrachmia. The possibility that the (μονόδραχος) of 1442, 3 = ζευγματικά is discussed in the introduction to that text. A grain-transport ship called ζευγματικόν is known from XXIV 2415, 45 and 56; here an impost to support such a ship may be meant (cf. the familiar ναῦλον and the μερικεῖοι for various ships). For other possibilities see Wallace, p. 280.

3181. DECAPROTUS RECEIPT

32 4B 3/M (1-2)c

16 x 7.5 cm.

A.D. 251/2

Receipt recording two transactions: (a) delivery of grain from the deposit of Ammonarus and Saras at Pakerke to pay taxes at Psobthis for Tesiris, daughter of Anthestius; (b) delivery of a private deposit of grain to Didymion also called Leonides, from the deposit of Ammonarus alone at Psobthis.

Cf. 3179.

- μεμέτ(ρηται) εἰς τὸ δη(μόσιον) (πυροῦ) γενή(ματος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) α
 (ἔτους) Τραιβωνιανοῦ Γάλλου
 καὶ Γαίου Οὐβίλιου Ἀφνίου Γάλλου Οὐελδουμανοῦ Οὐωλουσιανοῦ
 Εὐε[ε]βῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν, διὰ θης(αυροῦ) ἀπη(λιώτου) τοπ(αρχίας)
 Πακερκῆ
 ἀπὸ θέ(ματος) Ἀμμωνάρου καὶ Σαραπίου Τεσίρι Ἀνθεστίου
 5 Ψώβθεω[ε] πόλ(εως) ξ [..]. () (ἀρτάβαι) θλδ χ(οίνικες) δ, (γίνονται)
 ἀρτ(άβαι) ἐννεά ἡμις τέταρτον
 χοί(νικες) δ'. Ἀνρή(λιος) Διον() δεκάπ(ρωτος) δι' ἐμοῦ Ζωιλ() τοῦ
 κ(αί) Σαραπί() σεση(μείωμαι).
 (m. 2) καὶ δι(ὰ) θης(αυροῦ) Ψώβθεω[ε] ἀπὸ θέ(ματος) Ἀμμωνάρου Διδυμίω τῷ καὶ
 Λεωνίδη θέ(ματος) (ἀρτάβαι) η. ὁ α(ὐτός) σεση(μείωμαι).
 2 μ in Οὐελδουμανοῦ corrected from δ.

'Paid into the public granary, of wheat of the crop of the past year 1 of Trebonianus Gallus and Gaius Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumnianus Volusianus, Pii Felices Augusti, through the granary at Pakerke of the Eastern toparchy, from the deposit of Ammonarus and Saras, for Tesiris, daughter of Anthestius, for municipal dues at Psobthis, 6th. . . 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4 ch., total nine and three-quarters artabas, 4 choenices. Signed by me, Aurelius Dion(), decaprotus, acting through me, Zoil() also called Sarap().

(2nd hand) And through the granary at Psobthis, from the deposit of Ammonarus, to Didymion also called Leonides, 8 art. deposit. Signed by me, the same official.'

1-4 μεμέτ(ρηται) . . . ἀπὸ θέ(ματος): an unparalleled expression. If the verb is to be given its

proper force here, it means that grain already on deposit at Pakerke was physically transported to Psobthis to pay taxes there. This seems much less convenient, and less likely, than a simple giro-transfer: it may be that *μεμέτρ(ρηται) ἐς τὸ δη(μόσιον)* is a scribal slip for *διεγράψαν*, or that the distinction between *μεμέτρηται* and *διεγράφη* was not always felt so sharply as has been supposed.

4 *Ἀμμωνίου*: cf. 3180. 4; 3179. 4.

5 *Ψόβθιαι*[c]: in contrast with the payment for *θε(ματος)* in line 8, this grain is not to be at the disposal of the nominal recipient, but is credited against her land dues at Psobthis. Similar stipulations are found in 3179. 4; P. Strassb. 127. 6; P. Leipz. 114. 4; 115. 5-6; possibly 116. Cf. XVII 2140 and the payments recorded in XII 1444 and 3169.

πόλ(εως): for the expansion cf. XVII 2140. 12; 3169. 29 *et passim*. The accounts of taxes due from villagers themselves were kept separately from those of absentee landlords who were residents of the nome capital or other *πόλεις*; Tesiris belongs to the latter class, and her tax credit is designated accordingly. So also in XVII 2149 and 3179; cf. 1444 and 3169. See further P. Cair. Isid. pp. 76 f.; P. Prince. Roll xiv, 2-4 note; P. Leit. 3, introd.; 13. 4 note; XII 1419. 2 note; XXII 2346. 23. This is the significance of *πόλεως* in VI 960; the reference to *Σερφύβειος πόλεως* in WB III s.v. *Σερφύβειος* should be corrected. Taubenschlag, *Laws* p. 593 n. 45 is outdated; cf. Sasse, *CA* pp. 101 ff.

ξ[. . .] () : not ξ [κο]λ(λήματος) or (έξω)χ(ονικω). For ξ, ζ could be read, but apparently not an abbreviation of *σπερμάτων*. The *έκτον* or *ύπόλογος* (Wallace p. 28) does not stand here.

8 *ὁ ἀθύρ(ας)*: i.e., the decaprotus Dion (), who as head of tax collection in the toparchy was responsible for the granaries at both Psobthis and Pakerke (both Eastern toparchy). The signature was no doubt written by a subordinate here as well as in line 6.

3182. LETTER TO A GYMNASIARCH¹

32 4 B. 4/D (1-2)b

10.5 x 12.0 cm.

22 August A.D. 257

The subject of this letter, of which only the prescript is lost, is the supply of oil for the gymnasium. It seems probable that the writer and the recipient were both gymnasiarchs, the former being perhaps the president of the *κοινὸν τῶν γυμνασιάρχων*. It is clear from ll. 3-5 that the writer cannot have been the prytane and it is unlikely that the strategus was involved in business which, if we may judge from XII 1413. 19-24, would be resolved by the bule and the gymnasiarchs. The gist of the letter is that the bule has instructed the addressee to be responsible for one-quarter of the supply of oil required for the gymnasium on a certain day; the purpose of the writer is simply to inform him of this fact. The back of the papyrus is blank.

That the bule was responsible for the division of days amongst the various gymnasiarchs is attested by XII 1413. 19-24 and 1416. 6-9. In the latter text there is evidence that responsibility for a single day was divided, but a division of one day between four gymnasiarchs is, to the best of my knowledge, unparalleled. Perhaps the shortage of people willing to serve became acute at the end of the official year; in 1413. 19-24 the bule is concerned with the assignation of days at the end of Mesore and the beginning of Thoth, and here the addressee is to serve on the fourth epagomenal day. But such problems were not necessarily confined to that period (cf. C. P. Herm. 57-64, of A.D.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 17 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

267-8). We might also compare XIV 1665, containing a request from a gymnasiarch to his 'father' for an amount of oil to enable him to pay off his debts.

→ (m. 1)] . . . [

.] . [.] . χαιρέ[ε]ν[.]

ο[ί] ἀπὸ τῆς τῶ[ν] ἐ]ν ταῦθα κρατίτης βουλῆς

διὰ Α]βρηλ(ίου) . [.] . [.] . . . τ]ρῶ καὶ Πτο[λ]εμαίου γυμ(νασιαρχ) καὶ ὧς

5 χρη[σ]ί(ματί)ζει) ἐνάρχ[ου π]ρυτάνεως *νασ*.

ἐπέ]στειλάν μ[ο]ι δηλοῦντες [δ]εῖν *εε* γυμνα-

σια]ρχεῖν τῇ δ- τῶν ἐπαγομένων

κατὰ τὸ (τέταρτον). ἔν' [οὔ]ν ἐ[ί]δῃς, φέ]λατε, κα[ί] τῆς

τῶν ἐλαίων χορηγίας πρόνοιαν ποιήσῃ,

10 ἐπέ]στειλά σοι. (m. 2) ἐρῶσθαι *εε* εὐχομαι, φέ]λατε).

(m. 1) (έτους) δ- Ἀντοκρατόρων Καίσαρων Πουπλίου

Λικωνίου Οὐα[λ]εριανοῦ κραι[ί] Πουπλίου

Λικωνίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ Γαλλιηνοῦ Γερμανικῶν

Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν καὶ Πουπλίου

15 Λικωνίου Κορνηλίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ

ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν, Μεσορῆ λ-

(m. 3) Α]βρήλιος Ἀμοῖς ὑ(πηρέτης) ἐπήνεγκα.

(έτους) δ]- Μεσορῆ ἐπαγομένων β.

8 ἔν, in φέ]λατε *εε* corr. from τε, in καὶ κ corr. from τ(?)

' X to X , greetings. The members of the most excellent council of this city through Aurelius also called Ptolemaeus, (ex-?) gymnasiarch and however he is styled, prytane-in-office, have notified me, making it clear that you must serve as a gymnasiarch for a quarter of the duty on the fourth epagomenal day. In order, therefore, that you may know, my dearest friend, and attend to the supply of oil, I have notified you. (2nd hand) I pray for your health, my dearest friend. (1st hand) Year 4 of the Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Germanici Maximi Pii Felices and Publius Licinius Cornelius Valerianus, the most illustrious Caesar, Augusti, Mesore 30. (3rd hand) I, Aurelius Amois, assistant, delivered it. Year 4, Mesore epagomenal day 2.'

1 The traces are of the bottoms of 4 descenders and a cross-stroke.

2 Probably φιλτάτ]ω before χαιρέ[ε]ν[.]

3 A curious periphrasis for the members of the bule, but I see no other possible meaning. No doubt ἐ]ν ταῦθα is to be related to a mention of Oxyrhynchus in the address.

4 This prytane has not previously been attested.

7-8 For the division of one day between four people see introd. In XII 1416. 6-9 there is a division of two days in the proportion of 1½:½, perhaps necessitated by a special occasion, cf. Van Groningen, *Actes du Ve Congr. Int. de Papyrologie* (1937), pp. 505-11.

17 Perhaps the βουλευτικός ὑπηρέτης (cf. *The Town Councils*, p. 42), but perhaps the gymnasium had one of its own; it is unlikely that it was the strategus' assistant (see introd.).

3183. REGISTRATION OF CHILDREN¹

28 4.B. 61/B (8) a

A 11.5 × 25 cm.
B 12 × 24.5 cm.

26 July A.D. 292

Two copies of a notice of registration of children addressed to the systates of Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Diogenes also called Hermias. The texts are written by two different hands and each contains a docket written by a hand other than that of the main body of the document. The state of preservation of the two documents is roughly equivalent; variant readings in the second text are given in the apparatus. That there was a kollema on the first piece is evident from the fact that there is another strip of papyrus 3 cm. in width glued to the left-hand edge; but there is not enough to show whether the sheet was simply cut from a normal roll, or was pasted into a composite roll of similar notices. In both documents the back of the papyrus is blank. The text printed is that of A, variants in B being noted.

The texts contain a declaration by Aurelius Seuthes addressed to the systates of Oxyrhynchus and requesting the registration of two sons. The closest parallel to this is P. Corn. 18 which contains two copies of a similar request addressed to the same systates. There, however, only one copy has a docket and there are some slight differences in the formulas used. XXXVIII 2855 also contains an application to register a child (in the class of δωδεκάδραχμοι ἀπὸ γυμνασίου), dated to 291 and addressed to the board of *laographi* through one of their number, Aurelius Diogenes also called Hermias (again, the same man). P. S. I. III 164 (A.D. 287) is also comparable. The bibliography for documents of this type can be found in the introduction to 2855; add XLIII 3136, 3137.

→ (m. 1) Ἀρ]ηλίω Διογένι τῶ καὶ Ἑρμῖα συστάτῃ
τ]ῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξ(υρνηχιδῶν) πόλεως τοῦ
ἐνεστῶ-
τ]ρος η (ἔτους) καὶ ζ (ἔτους) vac.
πα]ρὰ Ἀρρηλίου Σεύθου vac. μη(τρὸς) Ταποῦ-
5 το]ς ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξ(υρνηχιδῶν) πόλεως.
βο]ύλομαι πρῶτως ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀναγρα-
φῆ]ναι τοὺς γεγονότας μοι ἐκ τῆς συνου-
ση]ς μοι γυνεὸς Ἀρρηλίας Ἀπίας Θεώνος
υ]ιῶς Ἀρρηλίου ἐπὶ μὲν ἀμφόδου Παμ-
10 μ[έ]νους Παραδίου Θεώνιον ὡς (ἐτῶν) η
ἐ[π]ὶ δὲ ἀμφ[ό]δου [Τ]ευμενούθεως Νεμεσίου
να] ἐπικεκλήμ[ε]νον Πανετβέα ὡς (ἐτῶν) ζ.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 23 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπ[ό]μνημα ἀξίων ταγή-
ραι αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς καταχωριζομένης ὑπ[ό]
15 σοῦ] γραφῆς ἀφηλίκων ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμ[η]λί-
κω]ν τάξει ὡς καθήκει καὶ ὀμνύω [τὸν
ἔθι]μον Ῥωμαίοις ὄρκο]ν μὴ ἐφεῦσθαι.
(ἔτους) η] καὶ (ἔτους) ζ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
Διοκλ]ητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶ]ν
20 Μεσορ]ή β-.
(m. 2) Τευμενούθεως·
Θῶ]νης vac. [(ἐτῶν) η
Νεμεσίου ἐπικ(εκλημένους) Πανετβ[ε]υς (ἐτῶν) ζ
υ]ιοὶ φυσικοὶ μυρεὺς ἐν Τῆ]ει
25 διὰ Ἡρακλήου πρωτανεύσας.

1 I. Διογένει, B διογενει τω και ερμεια 2 B λαμπρας και λαμπροτατης οξυρνηχιδων 8 I.
γυναικος, B γυναικος 9 B υἱος 12 B πα[ν]ετβ[ε]α 13 ὑπ[ό]μνημα 14 ὑπ[ό] 16 I.
τάξει, καθήκει, B τάξει, καθήκει B μαξιμιανου^v 21 B τευμενουθεως και παμμενους 22 B ιδ
23 B πανεργευς 24 υιοι 25 I. πρωτανευσας

'To Aurelius Diogenes also called Hermias, systates of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, for the present 8th year and 7th year, from Aurelius Seuthes, son of (blank), whose mother is Tapous, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I wish that henceforth for the first time there be registered the sons born to me from the woman living with me, Aurelia Apia, daughter of Theon, the Aurelii Thonius about eight years old, (born?) in the quarter of Pammenes' Garden, and Nemesion surnamed Panetheus about seven years old, (born?) in the quarter of Teumenouthis, and I therefore hand in the memorandum, requesting that they be enrolled in the list of minors placed on record by you in the category of their coevals as is fitting, and I swear the customary oath of the Romans that I have made no false statement. Year 8 and 7 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, Mesore 2. Teumenouthis; Thonis, 8 years, Nemesion surnamed Panetheus, 7 years. Sons by nature in Teis (?), through Heracleus, ex-
prytane.'

1 For this systates see P. Corn. 18. 1 and XXXVIII 2855, where he is described as one of the *laographi*.

4 The space after Σεύθου which exists in both copies was perhaps left for the name of the father which might have been unascertained at the time of writing (cf. 3184 b. 16).

14-15 The phrase διὰ τῆς καταχωριζομένης ὑπὸ σοῦ γραφῆς ἀφηλίκων does not occur in P. Corn. 18, but cf. XLIII 3137. 14 and n.

21-5 The dockets on both copies seem to be very confused. A lists both sons under Teumenouthis, whereas B has both Teumenouthis and Pammenous, but in the wrong order (if they are supposed to correspond with the information in the main document). In B the age of Thonius (or Thonis) is given as 14, a mistake which might be due to the fact that the eta in line 10 is written with a triangle at the top of the second hasta formed by extending the cross-stroke to the right and bringing the pen diagonally upwards.

24 The letters seem clear enough on both copies, but appear to make no sense. 2855 ends very similarly: [Ἀρειαν]ός υἱός Ἀρειανού οὐετρανοῦ ἐν Θω[ι]c. 6] διὰ Κορηλίου (lines 29-30). The editor remarks the fact that the son is being registered in an *amphodon* of the city, whereas his father and

sponsor belong to an Oxyrhynchite village. Similarly here, we would expect the name of the father, but it does not seem possible to read it. Even though the father is alive, there is still a sponsor, Heraclius, the ex-prytane.

3184. LISTS OF VILLAGE LITURGISTS¹

28 4B 60/D (3)a

A large piece of a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος* containing two complete documents and, at the left-hand side, a strip from the right-hand edge of a third. The back of the papyrus contains an account of a later date written after the *κόλλησις* was made. Each of the preserved documents is a list of village liturgists (*γραφὴ λειτουργῶν*, see now Lewis, *BASP* 8 (1970) 115 f.) comparable to that in XXXIV 2714. The major point of interest in 3184 is that the lists were addressed by the comarchs of the villages of Talao and Muchintale respectively to Aurelius Asclepiades also called Achillion, the *πρωτοστάτης μερῶν κάτω τοπαρχίας*. This official title has so far occurred only thrice – first in SB VI 9502 where the *protostates* is the recipient of a land-declaration sent by a *horiodeictes* (see l. 6 note). The position was one which was evidently created in the late third century in order to provide more officials for the nome administration, but it presumably fell into disuse after the establishment of the *praepositus pagi* (cf. Böhm, *Aegyptus* 36 (1956) 254–74). The similar list of A.D. 256 (2714) was addressed to the strategus of the nome; the new documents attest that this duty was taken over by the *protostatae* of areas of the toparchies and are hence to be seen as important evidence for the gradual decline in the position of the strategus.

The account on the back consists of substantial remains of two columns (33 and 36 lines respectively) of writing of the early fourth century. The entries are arranged by villages, amongst which are *Μερμέρβα* (i 21), *ἐποικίου Καραπίου* (i 30), *Κερύφειος* (ii 14), *Τα[λαώ?]* (ii 9), *ᾠφέως* (ii 17) and *Κεσμούχειος* (ii 30). The entries consist of names followed by amounts in drachmas; the majority though not all of the amounts are 1,200 or 2,400 drachmas, see P. Oxy. XLII p. 101 for the special association of multiples of 1,200 dr. with the tax called *ἐπικεφάλαιον*. Since the heading is *Λουκίου κυστάτου*, cf. *ibid.*, item (9) in the table, and the systates is often a signatory to receipts for this tax, it seems very likely that this account is also associated with it. Col. i 26–34 reads:

↓	Κιλβανός Διοσκόρου	(δραχμαὶ) 'AC'
	'Αμόσι Καραπάμ(ω)νος	(δραχμαὶ) 'AC'
	Πατερμοῦθις	(δραχμαὶ) 'AC'
	Ψόσι Διδύμου	(δραχμαὶ) 'AC'

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 22 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV, and discussed in 'Some Aspects of the Reforms of Diocletian in Egypt', *Akten d. XIII. int. Kongr. d. Pap.* (Marburg, 1971).

30 ἐποικίου Καραπίου
 Πατερμοῦθις υἱὸς Στεφάνου (δραχμαὶ) 'Βυ'
 καὶ Στέφανος
 Ψόσι υἱὸς ᾠδρου (δραχμαὶ) 'B
 'Αμόσι Διονυσίου (δραχμαὶ) 'Bχ

a

11.6 × 28.7 cm.

October/November A.D. 296

- (m. 1) ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτ[ορος
 Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ ζ καὶ Κωνσταντίου ἐπιφανεστάτ[ου
 Καίσαρος (τὸ β)]. vac.
 Ἀρηλίω 'Ασκληπιᾶδῃ τῷ καὶ 'Αχιλλίω γει(νομένω)
 5 ὑπομ(νηματογράφω) γυμ(νασιάρχω) βου(λευτῇ) δις πρυτανεύσαντι τῆς
 λαμ(πράς)
 καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) 'Οξυρυ(γχιτῶν) πόλεως πρωτοστάτη μερῶν κάτω
 το(παρχίας)
 παρὰ Ἀρηλίω Πεκύ[σι]ος 'Αμόσιος καὶ Θεα-
 γένους Μύσιος ἀμφοτ(έρων) κωμάρχων γενομένων(ν)
 κόμης Μουχιντάλη τοῦ διεθθόντος ιβ(ἔτους)
 10 καὶ ια(ἔτους) καὶ δ(ἔτους). γραφὴ λειτουργῶν τῆς αὐτῆς
 κόμης τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιγ(ἔτους) καὶ ιβ(ἔτους) καὶ ε(ἔτους)
 οἱ εὐς-
 ταῖτα καὶ ἐπιδομένη ὑφ' ἡμῶν γνώμη
 πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης. εἰς δέ·
 Ἀρηλίω· κώμαρχοι· vac.
 15 Παγώνιος Πανκείριος μη(τρὸς) Σεναμόνιος. τελ().
 Παγετβῆς 'Αμμωνί[ο]ν μη(τρὸς) Θατρήτος. τελ().
 ἐπιστάτης εἰρήνης· vac.
 Τοτοῆς Τοτωέως μη(τρὸς) Θακώριος. τελ().
 πε]διοφύλαξ· vac.
 20 . . .] .υρις Κανῆτος μη(τρὸς) Θερμουθίου. [τελ()].
 πατομωφύλαξ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὀρίων·
] .σις 'Ἐκύσιος μη(τρὸς) Κοήριος. [τελ()].
 οἱ πάν]τες ἀπὸ τῆς α[ῦ]τῆς κόμης.
 vac.

- (ἔτους) ιγς] καὶ ιβς τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρ[ατ(όρων)]
 25 Διοκλη]τιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ ες
 τῶν] κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμια[οῦ]
 ἐ]πιφανεστῶν Καίσαρων Σεβαστῶν, Ἀθὺρ .[.].
 vac.
 (m. 2) Αὐ]ρ[ήλιο]ι [IT]εκδύς καὶ Θεαγένης ἐπιδεδώκαμεν.
 Α]ὐρ[ήλι]ο[ι]ς Δι]ογενίης ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φαιμέν[ων]
 30 μὴ [ε]ἰ[δέν]α[ι] γράμματα.
 8 μύσιος Ι. γενομένου(ν) κομάρχων 11-12 Ι. ἡ κυρταθεῖα 21 Ι. ποταμοφύλαξ 22 ἐκύσιος

¹ In the consulship of our lords Imperatores Diocletianus for the sixth time and Constantius, most illustrious Caesar, for the second time. To Aurelius Asclepiades also called Achillion, formerly hypomnematographus, gymnasiarch, councillor, twice formerly prytane of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, supervisor of areas of the Lower toparchy, from the Aurelii Pekysis, son of Amois, and Theagenes, son of Miysis, both formerly comarchs of the village of Muchintale for the past 12th year and 11th year and 4th year. The list of liturgists of the same village of the present 13th year and 12th year and 5th year, compiled and presented by us with the consent of all the inhabitants of the same village. They are: Aurelii: Comarchs: Pagonius, son of Pausiris, whose mother is Senamounis. Ratified. Panetbes, son of Ammonius, whose mother is Thatres. Ratified. Overseer of the peace: Totoes, son of Totoeus, whose mother is Thakoris. Ratified.

Field-guard:uris, son of Cannas, whose mother is Thermouthion. Ratified.

River-guard of our boundaries:sis, son of Hekysis, whose mother is Soeris. Ratified. All from the same village.

Year 13 and year 12 of our lords Imperatores Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and year 5 of our lords Constantius and Maximianus most illustrious Caesares Augusti, Hathyr We, Aurelii Pekysis and Theagenes, have presented this. I, Aurelius Diogenes, wrote on their behalf since they said they do not know how to write.¹

³ The writer omitted to designate the consulship of Constantius as his second. It is curious that the writer of (b) has also made a mistake with the consuls (see l. 2 note).

⁴⁻⁶ An Aurelius Asclepiades, son of Achillion, is known from XXVII 2477 to have been prytane in 288-9; Asclepiades also called Achillion is most probably the same man and the prytany of 288-9 will be one of the terms of office referred to by the phrase δις πρυτανεύσαντι (see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, appendix 1, note 22).

This text supplies the fourth piece of evidence for the office of *protostates* of part of a toparchy; other references are in SB VI 9502, P. Cair. Isid. 64 (of a village) and XXXVIII 2849, all dating from the same period as 3184. In a note to the most recent publication (2849. 1) the editor reviewed the evidence and concluded that the official was a short-lived creation and that it is inaccurate to regard him as having been replaced by the *praepositus pagi*. We might, however, safely suppose that the duties of the *protostates* were subsumed under the responsibilities of the *praepositus pagi*. Lists of village liturgists which were earlier sent to the strategus (XXXIV 2714, P. Flor. I 2. ix-x) are, by A.D. 296, the responsibility of the *protostates* (3184), later of the *praepositus pagi* (P. Amh. II 139, P. Got. 5-6, P. Cair. Isid. 125). It is also of interest to note that the *protostatae* formed a *κοινόν* (2849). The other *protostates* whose name is known is Valerius Julianus also called Dioscurides (SB 9502); he was logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome over twenty years later (I 42, VI 900).

⁸ On the role of the comarch in liturgies see H. E. L. Missler, *Der Komarch* (Diss. Marburg, 1970) pp. 102-13; 3178.

¹⁴ On the various liturgists see Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Service* (=ICS). Curiously, the latter has no entry for the *potamophylax* (see 21 n.).

¹⁵ The traces of the first three letters suit *παγ* best; I take this to be a variant of the attested name *Παγώνος* (VI 989, XXXIV 2714, 3). For the abbreviation *τελ* - see XXXIV 2714, 21 note. If the explanation there offered is correct - that it signifies ratification or publication - we need to account for the fact that it occurs against only one name in 2714 and against all (given that the restorations in lines 20 and 22 are correct) in 3184. The simplest explanation would be that, since 2714 is dated Thoth 1 whilst 3184 was written in Hathyr, there was more time in the latter case for the ratification to be completed.

²⁰ The most obvious restoration for the first name would be *Πετεύρις* or *Μαιεύρις*; *Maieuris* is perhaps slightly favoured by the fact that the bottom of the first surviving letter is an upright curving to the right - characteristic of iota in this hand, but not of tau, which bends to the left.

²¹ The qualifying phrase attached to the *potamophylax* is curious and I cannot parallel it; but the meaning seems clear enough.

²⁷ The surviving trace of the numeral would suit either iota or kappa, but it might also be a numeral under ten, perhaps epsilon or gamma.

b

11.6 × 24.8 cm.

9 January A.D. 297

- (m. 1) ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε" καὶ Κωνσταντίου ἐπιφανεστάτου
 Καίσαρος τὸ β'. vac.
 Αὐρῆλιῳ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ καὶ Τιλλίῳ γενομ(ένῳ)
 5 ὑπομ(ηματογράφῳ) γυμν(ακίρχῳ) βουλ(ετῆ) τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ
 λαμ(προστάτης) Ὀξυρ(υγγιτῶν) πόλεως
 πρωτοστάτη μερῶν [κ]άτω τῆς τῆς vac.
 παρὰ Αὐρῆλιῶν Παττάριος Ἀτίου καὶ Σεραπίων(ος)
 Ὄρωρ ἀμφοτ(έρων) κομάρχ(ων) κώμης Ταλαῶ τοῦ ἐνοστῶ-
 10 τρος ιγ (ἔτους) καὶ ιβ (ἔτους) καὶ ε (ἔτους). γραφῆ λιτουργῶν τῆς αὐ-
 τῆς κώμης τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνοστῶτος ἔτους
 ἡ συνθεθῆκα καὶ ἐπιδομένη ὑφ' ἡμῶν γνώ-
 μη πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης.
 εἰς δέ· Αὐρήλιοι· vac.
 ἐπιστάτης Ἰρήνης· Παρίτ' Ἀτρήτος μη(τρός) Ταποντῶτο(ς).
 15 φύλαξ αὐτοῦ Πτολαμείος ἐπικ(εκλημένος) Κάλου Πτολαμείου
 vac. μη(τρός) vac. τελ().
 πεδιοφύλακες· Σεραπίτης Θεοδώρου μη(τρός) Μαρίας. τελ().
 Πλουτίων μη(τρός) Στενπαρίτ', τελ().
 οἱ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης.
 vac.
 20 (ἔτους) ιγ" καὶ ιβ" τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν [Α]ὐτοκρατόρων Διοκλητιαν(οῦ)

καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ ε (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
 Κωνσταντίνου κα[α]ὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων
 Τῆβι υγ. vac.

(m. 2) Ἀνρήλιοι Πάτταρις καὶ Σαραπίων ἐπιδεδώκαμεν. Ἀνρήλι-
 25 oc ἔ]γραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φαιμένων μὴ εἶδέναι
 γράμματ]α.

2 l. Μαξιμιανου 4 l. Ἀχιλλων 5 ὑπομ 7 πατ'ταριος 8-9 l. ἐνεστῶτος 10 l.
 ἐνεστῶτος 11 l. συντεθείκα 14 ἱρηης l. εἰρήνης 15 l. Πτολεμαῖος, Πτολεμαίου

¹ In the consulship of our lords Maximianus Augustus for the fifth time and Constantius, most illustrious Caesar, for the second time. To Aurelius Asclepiades also called Achillion, formerly hypomnematographus, gymnasiarch, councillor of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, supervisor of areas of the Lower toparchy, from the Aurelii Pattaris, son of Atius, and Sarapion, son of Horus, both comarchs of the village of Talao of the present 13th year and 12th year and 5th year. The list of liturgists of the same village for the same present year composed and presented by us with the consent of all the inhabitants of the same village. They are: Aurelii:

Overseer of the peace: Parit, son of Hatres, whose mother is Tapontos. His guard: Ptolemaeus surnamed Kolou, son of Ptolemaeus, whose mother is (blank). Ratified.

Field-guards: Sarmates, son of Theodoros, whose mother is Maria. Ratified. Ploution, son of, whose mother is Stenparit. Ratified. All from the same village.

Year 13 and 12 of our lords Imperatores Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and year 5 of our lords Constantius and Maximianus, most illustrious Caesares, Tybi 13.

We, Aurelii Pattaris and Sarapion, have presented this. I, Aurelius, wrote for them since they said they do not know how to write.²

2-3 The writer has made a mistake with the consuls. In 297 they were Maximianus Augustus (V) and Maximianus Caesar (Galerius) (II). But he has at least the excuse that he was writing very soon after the beginning of the Roman year (cf. (a) 3 note). Dr Rea suggests that the mistakes and omissions here and in 4 and 16 occur because the scribe was copying from an exemplar he could not read.

4 On Asclepiades see (a) 4-6 note. Τιλίων for Ἀχιλλίων: see 2-3 n.

7 The first name is read on the assumption that it is a variant for Πετρίτις. The orthography would permit a reading of Πατταρία Κατίου, but that seems less satisfactory since the variant would be even more radical and Κάτιος is not in NB.

14 For the name Parit see VII 1048. It is an Egyptian name; I am indebted to Mr W. J. Tait for references to Glanville, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum* I, p. 65, cf. p. 55 and Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, pp. 256-7.

15 I take the name Kolou to be an indeclinable, probably Egyptian, name. It does not appear in NB.

16 The writer left a space for the mother's name, but did not fill it in (cf. 3183. 4). See 2-3 n.

18 The patronymic is difficult to read; perhaps Νεμεσιγ[ο]ν or Νεμεσιαρ[ο]ν. The name Stenparit is obviously formed from Parit (see note to l. 14).

23 Note that the appointments listed in (b) were made under the comarchs of the current year. The list in (a) was submitted by the former comarchs since the appointments were presumably made in the previous Alexandrian year.

3185. ORDER TO PAY¹

24 3B. 72/K (G)

21.2 × 8.0 cm.

Third century

This letter is written on the back of a papyrus containing a fragment of a report of proceedings before a Roman emperor. A prytane writes to a scribe of the city account directing him to pay four talents' weight of lead to the lead-workers on the baths, crediting to the prytane an amount for an advance he had made.

For a discussion of public expenditures on the baths at Oxyrhynchus and other places in the third and fourth centuries and the control exerted by the bule and the prytane (before the institution of the logistes) see *The Town Councils*, pp. 87-90. Apart from the details of the payment, the text presents no new information, but the occurrence (for only the second time) of the γραμματεὺς πολιτικῶν is noteworthy.

↓ (m. 1) π(αρά) τοῦ πρυτάνεως Σαραπάμμωνι γραμματῆ πολιτικῶν χ[αίρειν.
 παράδος

ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ σοὶ μολοῖβου ὑπὲρ τιμῆς κακιτερίνου ὀλκῆς [. . .] τάλαν[των
 ἔ] χωρηάν[των] εἰς κόλλησιν τῶν σωλήνων τοῦ Καίσαρος βαλανεῖ[ου

.

ω καὶ Ἀμότι καὶ Νεφερωῖτι καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς μολυβουργοῖς

(m. 2) ὀλκῆ[ς τάλαντα δ

5 ἐπὶ λόγ(ου) (m. 1) ἐνλογουμένων μοι ὑπὲρ ἧς πεποίη[[κα]] μαι' προχρησίας

ὀλκῆ[ς τάλαντων]?

vac. (m. 2) ἐρρωσθαί σε εὖχομαι, φίλτατε.

(ἔτους) ας Ἐπεῖφ 5⁻. καὶ παράδος τοῦ μολύβου ὀλκῆς τάλαντ(α)

τέσσε[αρα].

1 l. γραμματεῖ 2 l. μολύβου, κακιτερίνου 5 v περ, ἐπι λο' in margin

¹ From the prytane to Sarapammon, scribe of the city account, greetings. Supply from the lead in your possession for the price of seven talents' weight of tin which have gone for soldering the pipes of the baths of Caesar to . . . and Amois and Nepheros and their fellow lead-workers four talents by weight (in margin, 2nd hand, 'on account'), a weight of . . . being credited to me for the advance I have made. (2nd hand) I pray for your health, my dearest friend. Year 1, Epeiph 6. And supply four talents by weight of the lead.²

1 For the form of address see e.g. XII 1499. For the γραμματεὺς πολιτικῶν see XII 1413. 7, Lewis, *ICS* s.v.

2 For payments in connexion with the baths controlled by the bule and the prytane see e.g. XII 1499-1500, 3173, C. P. Herm. 94; for the competence of the logistes in the fourth century see e.g. VIII 1104, I 84.

3 κόλλησιν τῶν σωλήνων: cf. VI 915. The baths of Caesar (cf. I 43 verso iv. 24) are perhaps the same as the Thermae Hadrianae, see XXXI 2569. 6 note.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 5 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv. The text on the front (to be published later) seems not to belong to the *Acta Alexandrinorum*.

5 An amount must be supplied at the end of the line. The marginal insertion presumably refers to the amount to be credited to the prytane.

7 The reading of the date is partly conjectural. The bottom half of alpha is clear, as is the stigma beneath a numeral stroke. The remains of two long descenders before it suggest that Epeiph is the correct reading.

3186. EXTRACT FROM A REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS¹

19 2 B. 79/K (b)

4.5 × 6.5 cm.

Third century

Two small fragments of papyrus containing, on this side, an extract from a report of proceedings (*ὑπομνηματισμοί*, see 3187 introd.) before an official in Antinoopolis, which is written across the fibres. To the left of this extract are traces of lines written in a different hand. On the other side of the papyrus is a fragment of an account written along the fibres. Although the two main hands are very different, it is difficult to establish any certain chronological relationship between them. The proceedings are written in letters small, neat and well defined, whilst the account is written by a much more typical business hand which does not seem to offer any criteria for a dating more precise than the third century.

The surviving portion of the report is so meagre as to offer no connected sense, but it is evident that some kind of hearing was being conducted, one of the parties involved being represented, perhaps by an advocate. The document does provide what seems to be an example of the conjunction of the offices of syndic and designate-prytane (cf. *M. Chr.* 196) as well as an occurrence of the term *προβολαί*, which presumably refers to an election of some kind (cf. *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 98–103). All of which suggests that the hearing might have been connected with some kind of irregularity in an election made by the bule of Antinoopolis.

↓
 ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν
 ἐν Ἀντινοῦ πόλει [
 ναι Καλπούριον . [
 σύνδικον μελλοπρ[ύτανω
 5 λέγω ὑπέρ Ὀφελλί[ου
 λομένοις ὅταν δεδ[
 οὔδεν ἕτερον ὑπο . [
 ἀπεφήνω ἐπὶ των[
 τὰς προβολὰς γειν[
 10 τινα καὶ ἐπιψηφισ[
 ρειν[] . προβαλλετ[

1 ὑπομνηματισμῶν 5 ὑπέρ 7 ὑπο

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 8 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV.

1–2 For a similar introduction to an extract from proceedings before an epistrategus in Antinoopolis see *SB V* 7601.

4 For these officials see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 46–52, 60.

5 This indicates some kind of professional representation, as is common in documents of this type (e.g. *SB V* 7696).

6 The last three letters could be differently distributed, e.g. ὅταν δὲ δ[.

10 This could be completed as from *ἐπιψηφιστής*, *ἐπιψηφισμὸς* (see 3187 introd.), *ἐπὶ ψηφισ[ματος* or some part of the verb *ἐπιψηφίζεω*.

11 A minute trace of one letter in the middle of the line is visible and there is perhaps room for another. So the restoration could be, for example, αἰ||ρεῖν [δ]γ προβάλλε[ε or]|ρεν ἂ προβάλλε[ε or προβάλλε[α]. In the latter the verb would be understood in the general sense of proposal rather than as referring to part of the electoral procedure (cf. I. 9).

3187. PROCEEDINGS OF THE BULE¹

29 4 B 56/E (6–8) a
 (9) a

a 15.0 × 17.0 cm.
 b 2.5 × 2.5 cm.

24 July A.D. 300

One large piece and one small fragment from a document containing on the front an abstract from a report of proceedings of the bule of Oxyrhynchus. The large piece is incomplete at the bottom and in addition a good part of the lower left-hand side has been lost. On the back is a docket, written twice, describing the contents of the document. In the first instance a good deal of the docket has been almost completely obliterated due to the fact that that section of the papyrus faced outwards after it had been folded. There are in fact three vertical folds, which clearly caused the writer to add the second docket, written from bottom to top, also on the outward-facing section of the folded papyrus. The small scrap cannot be placed and is assigned to this document on the basis of the hand alone; since we do not know how much of the document is lost from the bottom it is probable that this scrap belongs to the lower part of the report. On the back of it there are a few letters in a very different, rather bookish hand.

The report is described as being *ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν*, which means that instead of being a *verbatim* account of a complete meeting it merely describes one discussion² (cf. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri* (1966) pp. 22–3). Other documents of this type are known (e.g. VIII 1103), but the contents of the present example are of interest not only for the elaborate preface and the attestation of a new prytane, but for the details of the discussion which centre around the procedure to be followed in elections by the bule. The main point, it seems, is that in all cases of *δνομασία* to an office it is necessary that there be an *εἰσηγητής* καὶ *ἐπιψηφιστής*; the first term seems to mean the introducer of a candidate and the second suggests the person who gets something put to the vote. But one person can fulfil both these functions, as in B.G.U. II 362. xi. 20–xii. 2, xv. 2–9. For a full discussion of this and related topics see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 98–107.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 7 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV.

² Cf. I. 8 *per* ἄλλα κέρματα.

a

- (m. 1) ἐξ ὑπομνηματικῶν τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς
τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρρυχ(ιτῶν) πόλεως
πρυτανίας Αὐρηλίου Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦ καὶ Διοσκου-
ρίδου γενομένου ὑπομνη(ματογράφου) γυμ(ασιάρχου) βουλ(ευτοῦ),
ἔτους ις"
- 5 καὶ ἔτους ιε" καὶ ἡ (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
καὶ Μ[α]ξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ
Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων, Ἐπειφ
λ-. βουλῆς οὗσης, μετ' ἄλλα σκέμματα Αὐρήλιος Ἀν-
τώνιος ὁ καὶ Φιλέας ἐξηγητῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας γυμ(ασιάρχ)
- 10 [εἰ](πεν)· [. . . .] . [. . . .] ὡς τὰς ὀνομασίας γείνεσθαι μετ' εἰ-
[σηγητοῦ καὶ ἐπιψη]φιστοῦ. Φι[λο]ύμενος ὁ καὶ Φιλι-
[.] ὄνομα[άβη]σαν εἰσηγητοῦ
[καὶ ἐπιψηφιστοῦ μ]ῆ γενομένου. αἰ[κ]υροῦς ἡ ὀνομασία ἐς-
[.]ς ὁ καὶ Πλούταρχος γυμνα(σιάρχ)ης πρυταν(εύ)ας
- 15 [εἰ](πεν)· μετ' εἰσηγητ[οῦ] καὶ ἐπιψηφιστοῦ χρῆ τὰς ὀνομα-
[σίας ποιεῖ]ν. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πρυτανίας
[. . . .] . [. . . .] γ τμηξ καὶ μῆ χχόντες εἰσηγητὰς
[καὶ ἐπιψ]ηφιστὰς τρῶτο εἰς γνώωιν τοῦ κυρίου μου
[ἡγεμό]νος ἀνήγεγα. μεθ' ἕτερα ὁ πρύτανις εἰ(πεν)·
- 20 [.] . ὀνόματα πάντων παρατίθημι
[.]των καὶ τῶν νῦν
[.]ῆ]μετερα τὸ προσῆκον
[.]ς]νδικοῦ εἰ(πεν)· ἐπὶ τῶν
[.] . φανεροί εἰσιν. ὁ πρύ-
25 [τανις] Ἀλεξ[α]ῖ] γδρεῖς ὄντες καὶ οἱ

b

→] [. . . .]
]εσθαι ἡρα[. . . .]
]κολουθου[. . . .]

] εἰδέναι [. . . .]

5]δρια . . [. . . .]

a

- Back ↓ (m. 2) ἐξ ὑπομνηματι(ς)σμῶν τῆς
κρατίστης βουλῆς τῆς λαμπρᾶς [καὶ
λαμπροτάτης Ὀξ(υρρυχιτῶν) πόλ(εως)

vac.

→]σμῶν τῆς κρατ[. . . .]

5] καὶ λαμπροτ[. . . .]

b

- (m. 3) . οξ[. . . .]
πα[. . . .]
ορ[. . . .]

1 ὑπομνηματικῶν 2 οξυρρυχ' 3 ἰ. πρυτανίας, also 16 4 ὑπομνη 10 μετ' εἰ
19 ἀνηγε'κα

'From the *acta* of the most excellent council of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites in the prytany of Aurelius Themistocles also called Dioscurides formerly hypomnematographus, gymnasiarch, councillor, year 16 year 15 and year 8 of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and Constantius and Maximianus the most illustrious Caesares, Epeiph 30. In a meeting of the council, after other discussions Aurelius Antonius also called Phileas exegetes of Alexandria (ex-?) gymnasiarch said: ' that nominations take place with an introducer and proposer'. Philumenos also called Phili. (said): "The nomination (of those who?) were nominated without an introducer and proposer is(?) invalid." . . . also called Plutarchus ex-gymnasiarch ex-prytane said: "It is necessary to make nominations with an introducer and proposer. Indeed, in my prytany and since we did not have introducers and proposers I brought this to the attention of my lord the *praeses*." After other statements the prytane said: (Back) From the *acta* of the most excellent council of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites.'

(a) 3-4 Aurelius Themistocles also called Dioscurides was also prytane in the following (Alexandrian) year, 300-1 (3188) and was deputy prytane at some other time in the early fourth century (P. Oxy. ined. 6, described in *The Town Councils*, appendix iv). The word *γενομένος* is taken to apply to all of the following titles except that of *buleutes* (see *The Town Councils*, p. 142).

7-8 The thirtieth of the month was the date set for a statutory meeting of the *bule* (*νομίμη βουλή*), see *The Town Councils*, pp. 32-6 and P. Oxy. ined. 24 (described in appendix iv).

9-10 As is usual in reports of proceedings of the council, the title of *buleutes* is not attached to the speakers (cf. e.g. XII 1413-14). Antonius also called Phileas could have been a current or an ex-gymnasiarch.

11-12 The name Philumenos is restored with some diffidence, but there seems no doubt that the letter before mu is upsilon. The second name was probably either Philippus or Philiscus.

10-16 The structure of the text is not quite clear. The view presented is that there are three speakers, Antonius (10-11), Philumenus (12-14) and Plutarchus (16 seqq.). An alternative might be to assume only two speakers, Antonius (10-14) and Plutarchus (16 seqq.), in which case Philumenus would be one of the subjects of *ἄνωμα[σίβη]σαν* (12). The passage might have run e.g. [ἔπει, δὲν ἀνώ]μοις τὰς ἀνομασίας γένεσθαι μετ' εἰσηγητοῦ καὶ ἐπισηφιστοῦ, Φ. δ καὶ Φ. [καὶ X] ἀνομάσειαν εἰσηγητοῦ καὶ ἐπισηφιστοῦ μὴ γενομένου, ἀ[κυρο]ς ἢ ἀνομασία ἐστὶ (ἔστω?), 'Since, although it is essential that nominations should be lawfully made with the assistance of an introducer and a proposer, Philumenus (and X) were nominated without the assistance of an introducer and a proposer, the nomination is invalid' (or 'let the nomination be invalid').

14 This man is previously unattested as prytane; perhaps he is to be identified with Plutarchus alias Atractius of IX 1204. There is also a gymnasiarch and buletes named Plutarchus in XXXVIII 2849.

17 The restoration required here includes a verb, presumably a third person plural in view of the syntax, and the remaining nu suits this. As for the three letters of which traces remain, the first two seem to be omicron and nu.

19 ἡγεμόνις: the surviving trace, a horizontal stroke, compares well with the sigma of this hand and seems to exclude the possibility of restoring *ἐπαρχοῦν*.

20 For *παραιτήσιμ* cf. XII 1413, 14.

23 For the syndic and his relation to the bule see *The Town Councils*, pp. 46-52.

25 If this restoration is correct, there was perhaps a reference to some special privilege or responsibility falling to members of the metropolitan council who were Alexandrians.

Back. The second docket is clearly the same as the first, see introd.

(b) Back. 1. The third letter might be a xi.

3188. ORDER FOR LIEN ON PROPERTY¹

3 I B. 85/D (1) a

20 × 25 cm.

11 September A.D. 300

A letter from the prytane of Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Themistocles also called Dioscurides, to the bibliophylakes requesting them to register a lien on the property of Aurelius Dionysius son of Plutarchus until he has fulfilled the obligations of the office of chief-priest to which he has recently been elected. The practice of placing property under lien as a surety for the fulfilment of office is well attested in regard to state liturgies and posts (see Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 358-9, Taubenschlag, *Law*², pp. 689-90, Eger, *Grundbuchwesen*, p. 72). If there is a default in office the state has the right of execution upon the property of the defaulter. The practice is also attested in connexion with metropolitan liturgies (see ll. 8-9 note); in these cases it will naturally be the city which has the right of execution upon the property of a defaulter. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there is no published document which provides a parallel to this text; but the new information does not include any surprising or anomalous details.

The prytane Aurelius Themistocles-Dioscurides was previously known from I 103, of A.D. 316, where, in line 2, *πρυτανε[ύ]σωνται* should be read instead of *πρυτανε[ύ]ονται*.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 16 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV.

He is also attested in 3187, also of A.D. 300 but the previous Alexandrian year, from which I have restored his titles in the present text, and in an undated text¹ where he is titled ex-prytane and deputy prytane.

The papyrus is complete at all margins, but largish pieces have been lost from the left- and right-hand sides at the top; a few letters are missing from the ends of some lines and the top layer of fibres has been stripped from the beginnings of two lines. The back of the papyrus is blank.

- *Ἀύρη(λιος) Θεμιστοκ[λή]ς ὁ καὶ Διοσκ[ουρίδης] γενό(μενος) ὑπομνηματογράφος*
γυ(μνασί)αρχος βουλ(ευτῆς) πρυτ(ανεύσας) ἔναρχος πρύτ[αν]ις τῆς
᾽Οξ(υρ)υρχιτῶν πόλ(εως) Ἀύρη(λιος)
καὶ] βιβλιοφύλ(αξίω) ἐγκτή[ε]σαν τ[ῆς] αὐτῆς
π[ό]λ(εως) τοῖς φιλ(τάτοις) χαίρ(εω).
 5 *Ἀ[ύρ]η(λιος) Διονυσίου Πλουτάρχου χειροτονθέντος σήμ[ε]-*
ρον ε[ἰ]ς ἀρχ(ιερ)ω[σ]ύνης ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Ἀύρη(λίω) Θωνίου καὶ
Ἀμμωνίου ἀμφο(τέρων) ἀρχό(ντων) βουλ(ευτῶν) τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, ἐπιστέ[λ]-
λω ὑμῶν, φ[ι]λ(τα)τοι, ἵνα τὴν δέουσαν κατοχὴν τοῦ
ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ποιήσῃτε ἕως ἂν πάντα τὰ τῆ
 10 *ἀρχῆ διαφέροντα ἀποπληρωθῇ.*

vac.

(Ἔτους) ιζ[ή] καὶ ις[ή] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκρατόρων
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανῶν [Cε]β[α]c[τῶν] καὶ ἔτο[υ]ς θ τῶν
κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
Καيسάρων, Θῶθ ιδ-.

¹ Aurelius Themistocles also called Dioscurides, formerly hypomnematographus and gymnasiarch, councillor ex-prytane prytane-in-office of the city of the Oxyrhynchites to Aurelius and, keepers of the property registers of the same city, his dearest colleagues, greetings. Aurelius Dionysius son of Plutarchus having been elected yesterday to the office of the chief-priesthood by Aurelius Thonius and Ammonius, both magistrates and councillors of the same city, I send you notice, dearest colleagues, in order that you may record the necessary claim against his name until all the obligations pertaining to the office have been fulfilled. Year 17 and 16 of our lords Imperatores Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and year 9 of our lords Constantius and Maximianus, most illustrious Caesares, Thoth 14.²

¹ There can be no doubt about the restoration of the name of the prytane (for his titles and other terms of office see introd.). On the term of office of the prytane (annual) see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 61-5.

²⁻³ There are no traces before *βιβλιοφύλ(αξίω)*. I have restored on the calculation of a maximum of about 45 letters to a line, which demands short or abbreviated names for the bibliophylakes. Alternatively, one might suppose that the names were omitted and that τῆς ᾽Οξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως was written in a more extended form.

¹ P. Oxy. ined. 6, *loc. cit.*

5-6 For χειροτονία to office in connexion with the bule see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 104-7. If the reading of *σίμη[ε]ρρη* is correct the election will have been made on Thoth 13. It is not stated that it was made in the bule and the date does not militate in favour of the supposition (*op. cit.* pp. 32-6). For the reading of the office only the last four letters are certain - the other traces are minimal. In 7 the description preceding βουλή(ενῶν) is also much rubbed, but the last letter is read by J. R. Rea as a clear ο, i.e. ἀρχό(ντων) not ἀρχι(ερέων). Possibly this is an error for ἀρχι(ερέων) or ἀρχι(ερατευεάντων). Normally the individual boards of ἀρχοντες were responsible for electing their colleagues or successors (*SB V 7606. 110-11 τὴν ὀνομασίαν ποιεῖν . . . τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως κτλ.*).

8-10 κατοχή is a lien on property made as a security against default, see e.g. P. Ryl. II 174. 22, XIV 1634. For its connexion with liturgies performed for the state see the discussions cited in the introduction. The practice is mentioned in the Edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander, *OGIS 669. 21 ff.* (cf. Chalon, *L'Édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander* (1964), pp. 123-36): κελύω οὖν, ὅπως ἂν ἐνθάδε ἐπίτροπος τοῦ κυρίου ἢ οἰκονόμος ὑποσπῶν τινα ἔχη τῶν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασι ὄντων, κατέχευθαι αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνο[μα] ἢ προγράφειν ἐνῆα μηδεῖς τῶι τοιοῦτῳ συνβάλλῃ ἢ μέρη τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ κατέχειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις γραμματοφυλακίοις πρὸς ἀφείλημα. Similarly with regard to arrears in nomarchic collections, B.G.U. I 8. 11. 4 ff.: φρόντισον καταχεῖν [μὴ μόνον τῶν νομαρχῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐνεχομένων καὶ τοῖς χειροτονήσαντος αὐτοῦ πρυτάνεως τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, μέχρις ἂν [ἢ ἀπόδοσις τῶν ἀφειλομένων γένηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν προτέρων χρόνων ἀφειλόμενα. The same practice is in evidence with regard to the metropolitan office of cosmetes in P. Princ. II 71. 17 ff.: Πομπητιανὸς τάλαντον καὶ [(δραχμάς)] Ἐφ' ἐπι ἀφείλει καὶ ἐπι κατέχεται το[6-7]. ὅλον δίδόντος οὕτως ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκεμ[ε]μένων ἐν σοὶ ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐξετέλεσας κοσμητ[ε]ας[ς] and perhaps in XII 1413. 14 where a syndic reports to the bule that he has impounded property (κατελήφα πόρον) and will inform it of the amount involved.

3189. RECEIPT FOR TAX¹

8 I B. 197/E (1) b

10.0 × 8.0 cm.

Late third or early
fourth century A.D.

A dark brown piece of papyrus of coarse quality containing a receipt for the rarely mentioned τέλος ἀθηρωπαλῶν, paid into the city bank through the designate-ptytane. The papyrus is incomplete at the bottom and the date clause is lost. The hand is a bold cursive of the late third or early fourth century. Apart from the fact that the tax is mentioned elsewhere only once, so far as I can ascertain, points of interest in the text are the unusual description of the designate-ptytane as πρύτανις τῆς μελλούσης (see I. 4, note) and the fact that the money was paid ἐν χάρηι (see I. 7, note). The back of the papyrus is blank.

→ δι(έγραψεν) ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτι-
κὴν τράπεζαν ὑ(πὲρ) τέ-
λους ἀθηρωπαλῶν
δι(ὰ) Γερμανοῦ πρυ(τάνεως) τῆς
5 μελλούσης Εὐτρυγίου
τοῦ καὶ Οὐρανίου
ἐν χάρηι ἀργυρίου

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 2 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

δραχμάς πεντακοσί-
ας, [(γίνονται) (δραχμαῖ)] φ [.]

5-6 I. Εὐτρύγιος ὁ καὶ Οὐράνιος

'Eutrygius also called Uranius has paid into the city bank, for tax on pulse-sellers, through Germanus designate-ptytane, five hundred drachmas in paper, total drachmas 500'

2-3 For this tax see XII 1432 (A.D. 214), Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 207.

4-5 For payment of tax through the prytane see P. Flor. I 63. The name of Germanus is an addition to the list of known prytanes of Oxyrhynchus. For the phrase πρύτανις τῆς μελλούσης the word πρυτανείας is presumably to be supplied; for the quasi-adjectival use of the participle of μέλλω see P. Lond. 113. 3. 2-3 (I, p. 207), LSJ s.v. (iv). For a similar description of a designated official see P. Flor. I 39. 4: εὐεστάτης τῆς μελλούσης λιτου[ργεῖν φύ]λῃς. The normal term for a designate-ptytane is μελλοπρύτανις or ἀποδεδειγμένος πρύτανις, see *The Town Councils*, pp. 59-60.

7 I interpret the phrase ἐν χάρηι as meaning that the money was wrapped in paper (as is understandable if it was paid through an intermediary) rather than that payment was made in the form of 500 drachmas-worth of papyrus or 'on paper' (i.e. in the form of a promissory note, a usage which I cannot parallel). For the practice of wrapping things in paper see P. Mich. VIII 468. 19 and P. J. Parsons, *La Parola del Passato* 121 (1968) 287-90. Parsons' preference for retention of the reading in P. Mich. 468 (*op. cit.* note 19) could be supported by the observation that a cake of ink was the only item in the list which needed wrapping (to avoid a mess). We may perhaps compare XXXI 2571. 11 ff., but I can see no solution to the difficulty there encountered by the editor, unless ἀργύριοι χάρται are 'money papers' (i.e. 'cheques').

9 The restoration (which must be regarded as tentative) is based upon the fact that the only surviving trace suits the hasta of a phi and the spacing required.

3190. ORDER TO ARREST¹

I I B. 211/B (c)

13.0 × 6.3 cm.

Late third-early fourth century

This papyrus, which is complete but for the loss of a few letters at the left-hand side, contains a judicial summons written along the fibres on what appears to be the less finished side of the sheet. A prytane orders the comarchs and public officials of a village in the Oxyrhynchite nome to deliver into the hands of the nomophylax a former nomikarios and his mother. The other side of the sheet is blank.

For recent discussion of such documents see P. Mich. IX 589-91 introd. (add XLIII 3130). A distinction is drawn between 'summons' and 'orders to arrest'; 3190 is probably to be classified amongst the latter, for the phrasing of the order suggests that the people are to be escorted to the metropolis under guard (cf. I 64, XII 1506, 3). The text is of interest for several points. That the order was issued by the prytane (presumably of the bule of Oxyrhynchus) does not necessarily indicate any special area of judicial competence for this official. It is probably to be seen simply as part of his area of administrative

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 21 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix iv.

competence and may perhaps be compared with the situation in P. Beatty Panop. 1. 192-201 where the proedros of the bule of Panopolis is called upon by the central government to provide personnel to assist in a search for wanted persons. The fact that the hand is of the late third or early fourth century is also of some importance, for it yields not only the latest attestation of the nomophylax but also one of the earliest of the term nomikarios (see 3 and 4 nn.).

→ π(αρά) τοῦ] πρυτάνεωσ vac.
 κωμάρχαισ καὶ δημοσίοισ κώμησ Πακέρκη.
 ἐ]ξαντῆσ παράδοτε τῶ ἀποσταλέντι νομοφύ-
 λακ]ε[. [.]ειον τὸν ποτὲ νομικάριον καὶ τὴν μητέ-
 5 ρα αὐτο]ῦ Βηροῦν, ἐντυ[γ]χοῦσῃσ Ἰσιδώ-
 ρασ.] vac.

4 ἐντυ]χοῦσῃσ Ἰσιδῶ

¹ From the prytane to the comarchs and public officials of the village of Pakerke. Hand over immediately to the nomophylax who has been dispatched . . . eius the one-time nomikarios and his mother Besous, at the petition of Isidora.¹

3-4 The latest definitely dated attestation of the nomophylax is A.D. 186 (see Lewis, *ICS* s.v.); the official is mentioned in two texts assigned to the third century, O. Mich. 161 and P. Ross.-Georg. V 56, and in P. Mich. IX 590. 1, assigned to the same period as 3190. The derivation of the term (whether from νόμος or νομός) is still uncertain (see XII 1440, 7 note).

4 The term νομικάριος occurs twice in the late third century (XII 1416. 21, P. Beatty Panop. 1. 252, 386). It is usually assumed to mean 'lawyer', but in a note to P. Beatty Panop. 1. 252, where a nomikarios is concerned with financial estimates for repairs to a fort, Skcat suggested that the term perhaps refers to a nome official. As for the name, Ἀ[ρ]εῖον fits the available space and the traces.

3191. REGISTER OF CORRESPONDENCE¹

22 3 B. 14/C (2-3)a

15.5 × 31.1 cm.

September A.D. 302

This fragment of a correspondence register, which is incomplete at all margins, consists of two pieces of papyrus glued together. The fact that the writing crosses the join at two points shows that the sheet was made up prior to use. As is common in documents of this type, the lines were probably of considerable length and no connected sense can be recovered from what remains of this text. This being the case, the papyrus is of interest more for its form than its content. It contains a series of copies, arranged in two columns, of outgoing correspondence of the bule in the month of Thoth, A.D. 302. Documents of this kind are known (e.g. XIX 2228, P. Beatty Panop. 1-2), but this is the first example of a collection of correspondence of the bule, although we might compare

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 4 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV.

a text such as C.P.Herm. 78 which contains a letter addressed to the bule and one from it to the treasurer of the city fund. But the present text is clearly a summarized record of correspondence, made up for the official archives; this much is demonstrated by the form of address used in the letters in the second column: τῶ αὐτῶ ἢ βουλή διὰ τοῦ πρυτάνεωσ. The mention of Μισσηνοί in l. 24 excites interest only to frustrate it. In all, parts of eight letters survive. The back of the papyrus is blank.

i
 → φ]ίλιτατε.
 vac.
],ων εἰσ τὴν λαμπροτάτην Ἀλεξάν-
 5 δρειαν],αι καὶ ἐχῆται τῆσ τῶν εὐχαρίων
 ?]
 vac.
]εσια τῶν προπολιτευομένων
]ηρ[.]τασ δοκιμάζεσθαι εἰ τρο-
 π]ροσκή[σ]ητ[σ] κόςμου δεῖ ἀνέσθαι
]ησεν ἐπισταλήναί σοι ὅπως προ-
]υσιεῖ ἵνα ἐπὶ παρόντων ἀπάντων
 vac.
 10 π]αρόντι εἰξ[.]]εδει[.]],ν
 vac.

ii
 →].....[
].ερι.τ.[
],νεγκα[
 τ... παρὰ τῶν τριῶ]ν
 5 νων ἡμῶν τὴν απ[
 (ἔτους) ιθ ιη ια , Θῶθ
 τῶ αὐτῶ ἢ βουλή διὰ τοῦ [πρυτάνεωσ
 εἰσ τῶ ἐνταῦθα ναυ[
 ἐξῆσ ἐνεγεγραμμε]ν
 10 (ἔτους) [ι]θς' ιης' ιας', Θῶθ [
 τῶ αὐτῶ ἢ βουλή διὰ [τοῦ πρυτάνεωσ
 τῶν ἀποστελλομένων]

¹ In the consulship of our lords Severus Augustus and Maximinus most illustrious Caesar. To Aurelius Dioscorus also called Helladius, (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor, prytane-in-office of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius Timotheus, son of Sarapiades, from the same city. Since the donkey-sellers of the same city have harassed me without justification concerning delegation of the delivery of two donkeys to the most perfect *magister rei privatae* on the ground that I am engaging in their trade, I accordingly declare, swearing by the fortune of our lords Imperatores Maximianus and Severus Augusti and Maximinus and Constantinus the most illustrious Caesars, that I have never yet practised their trade nor do I do so. And if I am convicted in future I will be subject to the divine oath and the risk to myself attaching thereto. Year 15 13 1 of our lords Maximianus and Severus Augusti and Maximinus and Constantinus the most illustrious Caesars, Pachon 14.¹

4-6 This man is hitherto unattested as prytane of the bule and now fills the (Alexandrian) year 306-7, cf. *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, appendix 1. The post of gymnasiarch might be either previous or current.

10 The word *ονομαγωγικων*, a hybrid formed from the Greek *ονος* and the Latin *mango*, needs to be added to the lexica.

12-13 *διακυβηταρος* (*perfectissimus*) is the usual rank of the *magister rei privatae*. Not much is known about this official who begins to appear after the Diocletianic reforms, see Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, pp. 88-9; N. Lewis, *JJP* 15 (1965) 157-61 = SB VIII 9883. His major duty appears to have been the supervision of the imperial estates in Egypt; we may now add the evidence of XXXIII 2665 and 2673 where a *magister rei privatae* named Neratius Apollonides, who perhaps still occupied the position at the time of the present document, is responsible for instigating investigations into property in connexion with the persecution of Christians (see also *M. Chr.* 196).

24 *αυτου* for *αυτου*. The pronoun may refer to the oath, in which case the writer has conflated two formulae (*τω εφηρητημενω τωτω κυδωνω* P. Lips. 46. 17 f.; *τω περι τουτου εφηρητημενω κυδωνω ιδ.* 50. 17 f.). If it refers to Timotheus himself, we must take it as a lapse into the third person, or as equivalent to *εμαντω* (Mayser, *Grammatik* 1. 1. 304).

3193. ORDER FOR PAYMENT¹

3 I B. 77/B (3)a

11.5 × 13.5 cm.

28 June A.D. 308 (?)

This papyrus, incomplete at the top and missing a portion of the left-hand side, contains two letters on the front; the back of the sheet is blank. The prescript of the first letter is lost, but it is clear that it was from Hermias, a prytane of Oxyrhynchus, to the logistes Valerius Heron also called Sarapion requesting a disbursement from the city fund. The second letter is from Valerius Heron to the banker of the city fund instructing him to make the payment.

Apart from l. 11, the text does not present any special difficulty and its reconstruction is aided by VIII 1104, a similar request from the same period. In the latter text, better readings can now be supplied for ll. 12-13 and 21 in the light of 3193: in 1104. 12-13 read *των των πολιτικων [χρηματων] τραπεζιτην* and in 21 read *τραπεζιτης*. The relationship of the prytane to the logistes in the bureaucratic structure of the early fourth century is discussed, in the light of these texts, in *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 89-90. The prytane Hermias was previously unknown. His term of office, and hence the date of

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 9 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV.

the present document, can reasonably be conjectured to have been in 307-8 on the basis of the available testimony for the logistes Valerius Heron (see 12 n.).

→ (m. 1) [.], τω
 [φιλ(τάτω) χαιρειν. αιτουμαι επις]ταληραι
 εξοδιασθη]αί μοι εις λογον των διατυ-
 πωθεντων] διδοσθαι τη πρυτανία
 5 κα[ι νυν αργυρι]ον (τάλαντα) ν, και δεον ηγου-
 με ε[πιστε]λαί σε τω [δ] των πολιτικων
 χ[ρη(μάτων)] τραπεζι(την) τον εξοδιασμόν μοι
 π[ουή]σασθαι. vac.
 υπατίας της προκ(ειμένης), 'Επειφ δ-
 vac.
 10 (m. 2) ερωσθαι σε ευχομαι, φιλτατε.
 vac.
 (m. 3) ιασ vac.
 Ουαλεριος 'Ηρων ο και Σαραπιων λογιστης 'Οξ(υρυχίτου)
 Αυρηλιω 'Απολλωνιω πολιτικων χρηματων) τραπεζι(την).
 εξ]οδιασον 'Ερμια πρυτανί από των διατυπωθεν-
 15 των διδοσθαι αυτω και νυν αργυριον τάλαντ[α ν]-
 ερωσθαι σε ευ]χ[ομα]ι. υπατειας της αυτης, 'Επειφ [.].
 3 I. πρυτανία 5-6 I. ηγουμαι 6, 13 I. πολιτικων 14 I. πρυτανει

' (1st hand) to his dear colleague, greetings. I ask that instructions be given for a payment to be made now to me, to the account of the monies earmarked to be given for the presidency, of 50 talents and I think it necessary that you instruct the banker of the city funds to make the payment to me. In the abovementioned consulship, Epeiph 4.

(2nd hand) I pray for your health, my dear colleague.

(3rd hand) Valerius Heron also called Sarapion, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Apollonius banker of the city funds. Make a payment now to Hermias the prytane, from the monies earmarked to be given to him, of 50 talents. I pray for your health. In the same consulship, Epeiph 6.¹

¹ The prescript will have contained the consular date (Diocletian X and Maximian VII, if 308 is the correct date, see note to line 12), followed by the titles of the writer and the addressee, e.g. [Αυρηλιος 'Ερμιας . . . εναρχος πρυτανις της 'Οξυρυχιτων πόλεως Ουαλεριω 'Ηρων λογιστη της αυτης πόλ(εως)]. The trace of a horizontal stroke immediately before τω could be the abbreviation mark in πολ- (for this form of address to the logistes see XXXIII 2666. 4-5). The prytane Hermias was previously unknown (see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, appendix 1); for the logistes Valerius Heron also called Sarapion see note to l. 12.

⁴ For the phrase *διδοςθαι τη πρυτανία* cf. VIII 1104. 16-17.

⁶⁻⁷ Before the fourth century the official responsible for making such disbursements was the *ταμιας πολιτικων χρηματων* (see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 44-6); the *τραπεζιτης* is

attested here and in 1104 (see introduction). The erased δ in 6 suggests that the scribe began to write *δημόσιω*.

12 The logistes Valerius Heron also called Sarapion is not in Rees' list (*JJP* 7-8 (1953-4) 104-5), but is known from P. Lond. inv. 2226 (Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, p. 265) and XXXIII 2666-7 to have been in office in September 308 (P. Lond. inv. 2226) and June 309 (2667). It appears from the latter document that he was the direct successor of Aurelius Seuthes also called Horion who was in office in 305 and 306 (VI 895 and VIII 1104). If the term of office of the logistes was three years, as Rees thinks probable (*loc. cit.* pp. 95-6), it seems probable that Seuthes was in office from 304 (the earliest date at which the logistes appears, cf. e.g. XXXIII 2673) until 307 and Heron from 307 until 310. On the basis of a one-year term of office for the prytanes of the boule (see *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 61-5), 306-7, 307-8 and 309-10 are available for the date of 3193; it seems prudent to opt for the date closest to that at which Valerius Heron is attested in office, i.e. June 308; naturally 307 and 310 cannot at present be excluded.

3194. REQUEST FOR PAYMENT

i 1 B. 211/B (m)

9.8 x 26.5 cm.

29 April A.D. 323

The undistinguished cursive hand in which this document is written presents no special problems, but in lines 10-18 the ink has faded very badly, no doubt from the way the papyrus was folded, and transcription here is hazardous and at times almost impossible. Fortunately the lines contain two identical requests, and these can be used to supplement one another.

Two comarchs of the village Sepho ask that instructions be given to the *δημόσιος* *τραπεζίτης* to reimburse them for *στιχάρια* and *πάλλια* supplied by them *εἰς τὸ δημόσιον*. P. Ryl. IV 660 (A.D. 338; provenance unknown) is a comparable request from a certain Aurelius Hermas, who bears no official title. Other papyri record acknowledgements by comarchs that they have been duly paid for clothing supplied to the government: B.G.U. II 620 = W. *Chrest.* 186, SB I 4421 (both c. A.D. 302, see XLII 3031 introd.), P. Cair. Isid. 54 (A.D. 314); cf. P. Ant. I 39 (A.D. 323), from a private individual, P.S.I. IV 309 (A.D. 327), from a *praepositus*, and XII 1430 (A.D. 324), also from comarchs but not relating to clothing. These texts must be examined along with the important new readings by Youtie, *TAPA* 87 (1956) 69-75, and Rémondon, *Rev. phil.* 32 (1958) 244-60. The clothing requisitioned from the village was no doubt required by the soldiers. On the *vestis militaris* in the early fourth century see XVI 1905, 3-6 n., MacMullen, *Aegyptus* 38 (1958) 189-91, and the introductions to P. Oslo III 119, P. Ant. I 40, and P. Cair. Isid. 54. The sum claimed in the present papyrus works out at 4,000 drachmas per *στιχάριον* and 5,000 drachmas per *πάλλιον*. This is the same price as was allowed ten years before in P. Cair. Isid. 54 (cf. also P. Cair. Isid. 72) and even earlier in B.G.U. 620. The price for *στιχάρια* corresponds to that fixed for *στῆλαι* of the poorest quality in A.D. 301 (*Edict. Diocl. de pret.* 26. 28 ff.). By this date it was hopelessly inadequate, yet even so it was subject to a deduction of 6.5 per cent. See the full study by Rémondon, *loc. cit.*

The request is not signed (contrast P. Ryl. 660) and so was presumably a copy kept

by the comarchs. The jottings on the back, in a related but almost certainly different hand, have no apparent connexion.

→ τοῖς ἀποδιχθηρομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ'.

Εὐδαίμονι

παρὰ Ἀπολλῶ Ψόιτος καὶ Διονῦτος

Ψεναμοῖνοις ἀμφοτέρων κομαρ-

5 χῶν κώμης Σεφῶ ζ' πάγου τοῦ

ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους. αἰτούμεθα

ἐπισταλῆναι ἐξοδιασθῆναι ἡμῶν

ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ὧν παρέσχαμεν εἰς τὸ

δημόσιον ἰ" ἰνδικ(τίωνος) στιχ(αρίων) ἑρεῶν

10 ς (ταλ.) δ <ὄν> (ἐκατοσταὶ) (δρ.) Ἀφξ τὰ λοι(πὰ) (ταλ.) γ

(δρ.) Δυμ,

πα[λλ(ίων)] β' (ταλ.) α (δρ.) Ἀ ὄν (ἐκατοσταὶ) (δρ.) χν τὰ λοι(πὰ)

(ταλ.) α (δρ.) Ἰτν, ἐνάτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος) στιχ(αρίων) ἑρε-

ὦν ς (ταλ.) δ <ὄν> (ἐκατοσταὶ) (δρ.) Ἀφξ τὰ λοι(πὰ) (ταλ.) γ

(δρ.) Δυμ,

πα[λλ(ίων)] β (ταλ.) α (δρ.) Ἀ ὄν (ἐκατοσταὶ) (δρ.) χν τὰ λοι(πὰ)

15 [(ταλ.) α] (δρ.) Ἰτν, (γίνεται) . . . (ταλ.) ι (δρ.) Ἰφπ, καὶ ἀξι-

[οῦ]μεν ἐπιστέλλε ςε τῷ δημ(οσίῳ) τρα(πεζίτη)

[τὸ]ν ἐξοδιασμὸν ἡμῶν ποιῆσθαι.

[ὑπ]ατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης) Παχῶν δ'.

Back

↓ (m. 2) Παντόνυμ[ο]ς

20 Τοτοῆς

πλοῖον Ἡρακλίου

ἄλλο Λευκαδίου

Διογένης κυβερνήτης

Παρίων κυβερνήτης χορηγόν

25 Ἀφθοῦς κυβερνήτης) απ. τεμγε. . . .

i l. ἀποδιχθηρομένοις 3 Through the horizontal of ϵ in $\Psi\acute{o}\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ a descender curving to left 16 l. ἐπιστέλλαι

Under the consuls to be declared for the 3rd time.

To Eudaemon

From Apollo son of Psois and Dionys son of Psenamunis, both comarchs of the village Sepho

of the 7th *pagus* in the current year. We request that instructions be given for us to be paid for the price of articles we supplied to the treasury:

In the 10th indiction

For 6 woollen tunics	4 tal.	
Less <6½% >		1560 dr.
Remainder		3 tal. 4440 dr.
For 2 cloaks	1 tal. 4000 dr.	
Less <6½% >		650 dr.
Remainder		1 tal. 3350 dr.

In the ninth indiction

For 6 woollen tunics	4 tal.	
Less <6½% >		1560 dr.
Remainder		3 tal. 4440 dr.
For 2 cloaks	1 tal. 4000 dr.	
Less <6½% >		650 dr.
Remainder		1 tal. 3350 dr.

Total amounting to 10 tal. 3580 dr.

and we ask you to give instructions to the public banker to make us payment.

In the aforementioned consulship, Pachon 4th.'

1 On the dating formula see P. Herm. Rees 18, 2 n.; ZPE 10 (1973) 121-4.

2 *Εὐδαίμων*: the rest of the line is blank. The addressee of P. Ryl. 660 is lost. B.G.U. 620, P. Cair. Isid. 54, 1430 and P.S.I. 309 are all reports to the strategus that payment has been made *ἐξ ἐπιτελεσμάτων σου*, thereby indicating that applications of this kind would be made to the strategus. P. Ant. 39 is a similar report to [...], *διαδεχομένῳ ἐξακτορ(είαν) Ἀντινοῦτου*. Eudaemon should therefore be strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, more correctly called *exactor* at this date (see Thomas, *Chr. d'Ég.* 35 (1960) 262-70), and it is tempting to suppose that the comarchs left a blank after his name because of their uncertainty as to which of these titles to give him. The strategus in A.D. 316 was *Αἰρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ καὶ Εὐδαίμων* (XVII 2113-14), but if our Eudaemon is the same man he must have been in office an inordinately long time (cf. Thomas, *loc. cit.* p. 267). There is a further difficulty in that the strategus by Mesore 24, A.D. 323 was Hermias (I 60. 1 = W. *Chrest.* 43), which would imply a changeover before the expected date of Thoth 1st. It is not impossible that Eudaemon was a *praepositus pagi*.

3 *Κεφῶν ἑ' πάγου*: formerly in the *Θμοισεφέω* toparchy, e.g. XXIV 2422, 78.

4-9 *εἰς τὸ δημόσιον*: included also 1430. 13 and P.S.I. 309. 7-8.

9 *ἡ ἰδικ(τίμωνος)*: cf. *ἐνάτης ἰδικ(τίμωνος)* in I. 12. Not only was the government grossly underpaying the villagers, it was only now paying out for clothing supplied in A.D. 320/1 and 321/2. Cf. P. Cair. Isid. 54, payment for A.D. 310/11 acknowledged in January A.D. 314, and P. Ant. 39, payment for A.D. 321/2 acknowledged in February A.D. 323.

10 <ὧν> (*ἐκατοστῶν*): sc. *εἰς*; here and in I. 13 the papyrus has only *ρ*. Insertion of *ὧν*, as in 11 and 14, seems the minimum necessary to make the sum intelligible and gives a parallel expression to 1430. 15 and P.S.I. 309. 11-13. The other documents have a much fuller statement, e.g. P. Cair. Isid. 54. 12 ff. (*ταλ.) κα (δρ.) Β, ἐξ ὧν ὑπολογονταὶ ὑπὲρ (ἐκατοστῶν) ς (ἡμισυ) (ταλ.) α (δρ.) Βρσ, τὰ λοιπὰ (ταλ.) θ (δρ.) Ἐται πλήρ[η]*). For (*ἐκατοστῶν*) as the correct resolution of *ρ* in all the relevant papyri, not *β(σπῆς)*, see the articles by Youtie and Rémondon cited in the introduction. A deduction of 6.5 per cent is also found in P. Col. II 1 recto 4. x. 18, B.G.U. VII 1564. 9 and III 697.19 (= W. *Chrest.* 321) (all second century A.D.).

12-13 *φρεῶν*: the papyrus has *ερεῶν*, as though the scribe intended to abbreviate at the end of I. 12 but forgot this when beginning I. 13.

15 (*γίνεται*)...(*ταλ.) ι (δρ.) Ἰφπ*: a diagonal stroke followed by what resembles a figure eight, then barely distinguishable traces. The whole must have marked a total, probably to be read (*γίνεται*) ὁμοῦ, cf. 1430. 17.

16 This is the worst affected line in the papyrus and the reading is no more than consistent with the traces. For the construction, cf. I 55. 14 ff. *ἀξιοῦμεν ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ τῆ ταμίᾳ τῶν πολιτικῶν χρημάτων τὸν ἐξοδιασμὸν ἡμεῖν ποιῆσθαι*.

τῶ δημ(οσίω) τρα(πέζῃ): normally two at Oxyrhynchus, see XXXIII 2664. 11 n. Payment by one only is mentioned in 1430. 9, P.S.I. 309. 4 and P. Ryl. 660. 6.

22 ἄλλο Λευκαδίων: VII 1048. 15 mentions *Λευκαδίων πλοῖον* ὑπὸ Ἄπφοος *Εὐδαίμωνος*, but is put late fourth/early fifth century by the editors.

24 *Παρίων κυβερνήτης* χορηγόν: sc. *πλοῖον*. XXIV 2415 (late third century) has two references (31-2 and 60-1) to *χορηγὸν ὑπὸ Παρίονα* *Κερήνου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξύρυγχιτου*. The name is not common and this may well be the same man.

25 *απ. τεμμε...*: *ἀπό* is possible, in which case a place name should follow. A *λαύρα* at Oxyrhynchus was called *Τεμμενοθεῖς*, but it is very difficult to read *ἀπὸ Τεμμενοθέως*. The writing is very cursive and could be read differently, e.g. *απ. ταμνομ.* *Ταμπέμων* is just possible. Cf. e.g. 3170. 11 n., 102 n.

3195. REPORTS TO A LOGISTES

4 I B. 68/C (a)

18.5 × 24 cm.

13-14 (?) June A.D. 331

These two reports were no doubt part of a much larger *τόμος συγκαλλήγματος* kept in the bureau of the *logistes*, on the pattern of I 53, VI 896, 983 (= SB III 6003), all A.D. 316 and part of the same roll, and XXXI 2570 (A.D. 329). The entries in 3195 may well have been numbered at the top, but the papyrus is now too badly frayed for any trace of this to survive. The back is blank.

The first column is rather badly mutilated and this, combined with the writer's uncertain command of the Greek language (which matches his shaky handwriting), leaves some of the details obscure. This much, however, is clear: the *logistes*, acting in response to a petition, has instructed the monthly presidents of the *οικοδόμοι* to inspect certain property in Oxyrhynchus and report back to him on its condition; their report is what we have here preserved. Doubtless the petitioner, who has recently come into possession, or re-possession (11 *ἀποτρεθείσει*), of the property, alleged that foul play had taken place, and this may have concerned the blocking up of certain entrances or windows (see 17 n. and 18/19 n.). Similar reports are P.S.I. V 456 (A.D. 276-82; Oxyrhynchus; addressed to the strategus) and P. Med. I 41 (= SB VI 9442) (fifth century; provenance and addressee unknown); cf. Kupiszewski, *ŷŷP* VI (1952) 266-7, also B.G.U. VIII 1859 and SPP XX 58 II. A document of A.D. 328, XLIII 3126, contains a petition to the *logistes* *ἀξίων ἐπιταλῆσαι τοὺς τῶν οικοδόμων μηχανάρχας ἕ' εἶδαι*. They are to assist in the *διαφρεσι* of a house.

The second report belongs to a type well represented in the papyri; four *δημόσιοι ἰατροί* send in a detailed account of the injuries sustained by a certain Aurelius Paesius. On these reports see XXXI 2563. 27-8 n., Nanetti, *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 301-14, Boswinkel,

Symb. Taubenschlag 1 = *Eos* 48 (1956) 181–90. The *logistes* was the regular recipient in the fourth century. It is noteworthy that in the present papyrus he is addressed along with the *defensor*. The only other example of a medical report being sent to a *defensor* is P. Cair. Preis. 7 (late fourth century; Hermopolis); cf. XVI 1885 (A.D. 509). For other examples of the *logistes* and *defensor* acting together see P.S.I. VII 767 (A.D. 331 or 332, cf. 3 n. below) and XII 1426 (A.D. 332).

I am indebted to Professor Youtie for some suggestions.

Col. i

→ [ύπατε]ίς Ἰουνείου Βάσσου καὶ Φλαυίου Ἀβλαβίου
[τῶν λαμ]π[ροτάτων] ἐπάρχων Παῦνι [. . .]
Φ[λα]ουίω Ἰουλιανῷ λογ[ισ]τῆ Ὀξυρυγχίτου)
[πα]ρὰ Ἀνρηλίου Πανάρου Ἡ. ωνήτου καὶ Ἡ-
5 [. . .]ην Μούρου ἀμφοτέ[ρ]ων ἀπὸ τῆς [λ]αμπ[ρο]σ[τά]της
[καὶ λα]μπ[ρο]σ[τά]της Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως μηγειαρχῶν οἰκοδό-
μων. ἐπεστάλημεν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐκ βιβλιδίων
ἐπιτοθέντων σοὶ ὑπὸ Αἰίου Θεωρας ὧ-
10 ςτε παρακενεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ π[ό]λι ἐπ[ὶ] ἀμφο-
του Τρόμου Θεόριου καὶ ἐπιθεωρήσειν ἀλλήν
ἀποτροθεῖσεν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Διδύμης Τίτρο[υ]
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως οὐσαν ἐκ βορᾶ οἰκατι-
κῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτῆς Διδύμης καὶ ἡ. ν. κα-
ταλάβωμεν [. . .] εἰεν ἐνγράφως σοὶ
15 προσφωνήσειν. ὅ[θ]εν ἐκίσε καινόμενοι
ἐπιθεωρήσαμεν [. . .] ἐκ βορᾶ οὐς [. . .] ἀλλῆς
οἰκίας τῆς αὐτῆς [Διδύ]μ[η]ς . . . υρητ[η] . . .] ἐν βορᾶ
τῶχος οἰκίας [τῆς α]ὐτῆς Διδύμης ἐλευθέ-
20 πλευρᾶς [.] ἀλλῆς [. . .] νο[ικ]οδομη-
θηγη. διὸ π[ρο]σφωνο[ύ]με[εν].
(m. 2) Ἀνρηλίου [

ο . . . [

Col. ii

(m. 3) ὑπατείας Ἰουνίου Β[α]σ[σ]ου καὶ Φλαυίου
25 Ἀβλαβίου τῶν λαμπ[ρο]σ[τά]των [

Φλαυίω Ἰουλιανῷ λογιστῆ καὶ

Κλαυδίου Ἐρμεία ἐκδικῶ Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου)
παρὰ Ἀνρηλίου Θεωνίου καὶ
Ἡρωος καὶ Κυβανῶ καὶ Αἰδύμου
30 δημοσίων ἰατρῶν τῆ[ς] λαμπ[ρο]σ[τά]της
καὶ λαμπ[ρο]σ[τά]της Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως. ἐπεστάλημεν
ὑπ[ὸ] τῆς ὑμῶν ἐμμελείας ἐκ βι-
βλιδίων ἐπιδοθέντων ὑπ[ὸ]
Ἀνρηλίου Παχίου Σενοούφης
35 ἀπὸ κόμης Πέλα ὧστε ἐφιδεῖ(ν)
τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν διάθεσιν καὶ
ἐνγράφως προσφωνήσαι. ὅθ[εν]
τοῦτον ἐφίδαμεν ἐπὶ γρ[α]βά[τ]ρου
ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ λογιστηρίῳ
40 ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῦ μ[έ]ρους
τῆς κερυφῆς τραύμα[τ]α . .
ο . . . τ[η] . . . ἰα . . . ὑμέιους
κ[α]ὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῦ μέρου[ς] τοῦ
μετώπου οἴδημα κ[α]ὶ ἔ[π]ι [τοῦ
45 πῆ]χοιου τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρ[ὸ]ς
πελιώμα μετὰ ἀμοιχῆς καὶ ἐπ[ὶ]
τοῦ πῆχοιου τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρ[ὸ]ς
πτελιωμάτιον, ἀπερ προσφωνο[ύ]με-
50 μεν.
ὑπατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης) Παῦνι κ.
(m. 4) [Ἀν]ρ[η]λίου Θεωνίου προσεφώνησα ὡς πρόκειται.
(m. 5) [Ἀν]ρ[η]λίου Ἡρωος προσεφώνησα ὡς πρόκειται.
(m. 6) [Ἀν]ρ[η]λίου Κυβανῶς προσεφώνησα ὡς πρόκειται.

1 Ἰουνίου I. Ἰουίνου φλαυίου 3 Ἰουλιανῶ 6 I. μηγειαρχῶν 7 η of επεσταλημεν
corrected, I. επεσταλημεν, ὑπο 8 I. επιδοθεντων, ὑπο 9 I. παραγενεσθαι, πόλι 9–10 I. ἀμφοδου
Δρόμου 10 I. επιθεωρησειν, ω corrected 11 I. αποδοθεισαν αυτω, ὑπο, I. Διδύμης, so I. 13
12–13 I. οικητικῆς 14 c of εἰεν corrected from ε 15 I. προσφωνησειν, εκεισε γενόμενοι
16 c of αλλῆς corrected, see note 18 I. τῶχος 19 I. βορῆς 21 see note 30 ἰατρων
32 ὑμων 34 I. Σενοούφιος 35 ἐφιδεῖ 42 ὑμενος 45 I. πῆχος?, χειρᾶς, so I. 47
46 I. ἀμυχῆς 51 I. πρόκειται, so I. 53

‘In the consulship of Junius Bassus and Flavius Ablabius the most illustrious prefects, Payni . .
To Flavius Julianus *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite from Aurelius Panares, son of He. onetus, and
Heracleos (?), son of Murus, both from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhyn-
chites, monthly presidents of the builders.

We were instructed by you in response to a petition delivered to you by Dius, son of Theora (?), to proceed to the Thoeis Street quarter in the said city and inspect a courtyard handed over to him by Didyme, daughter of Titus, from the said city, situated at the north of a dwelling house of the said Didyme, and to make you a report in writing of the condition in which we found it. Accordingly we proceeded there and we found that of the courtyard to the north of the house of the said Didyme the window-openings (?) in the north wall of the house of the said Didyme were open, [but] of the north side of the said (?) courtyard were blocked up. Wherefore we submit our report.'

[Signatures.]

In the consulship of Junius Bassus and Flavius Ablabius the most illustrious.

To Flavius Julianus *curator* and Claudius Hermias *defensor* of the Oxyrhynchite from Aurelius Theoninus and Heron and Silvanus and Didymus, public doctors of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites.

We were instructed by your Diligences in response to a petition handed in by Aurelius Paesius, son of Senenuphis, of the village Pela, to examine his condition and make a written report. Wherefore we examined the man on a bunk in the public office building; he had gashes on the right side of his head of the membrane and a swelling on the right side of his forehead and a contusion with a skin wound on his left forearm and a slight contusion on the right forearm. Wherefore we make our report.'

(4th hand) 'I, Aurelius Theoninus, have made my report as aforesaid.'

(5th hand) 'I, Aurelius Heron, have made my report as aforesaid.'

(6th hand) 'I, Aurelius Silvanus, have made my report as aforesaid.'

1 *Ἰουvenίου Βάσσυ*: Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, and Degrassi, *I Fasti Consolari*, give Bassus' gentile name as Julius (no doubt based on P. Lond. III 978. 18 (p. 233), but see *Berichtigungsliste* I); but the combined evidence of VI 990, P. Strasb. I 43. 26 and III 129. 15, and P. Bad. II 28. 1 (Youtie adds P. Colon. inv. 1699) proves that Junius is correct.

Παῖνι [. . .]: if the second report is correctly dated Payni 20 (see 50 n.) the reading here might be []β.

3 Φ[λα]ουίω Ἰουλιανῶ λογ[ισ]τηῆ: not in the list given by Rees, *YP* vii/viii (1953/4) 104 f., but subsequently attested by XXXI 2570, which shows that he had been in office since at least 27 October A.D. 329. P.S.I. VII 767 proves that by November 331, or at the latest by January 332 (for the doubt about the date see the editor's note), he had been replaced by Flavius Hermias. In P.S.I. 767. 28 we should no doubt restore Ἰουλιανῶ ἀπ[ὸ] λογιστῶν. Almost certainly he is to be identified with the Flavius Julianus who is acting *defensor* in A.D. 336 (VI 901 = M. *Chrest.* 70); cf. also perhaps P.S.I. V 467 (A.D. 360) and P. Ross. Georg. V 28 (fourth century; undated).

4 Ἡ. φητρον: eta is certain, φητρον almost so; between them either one or two letters. No such name is known to me.

4-5 Ἡ[...]ηρον: Ἡ[ρακλ]ήρου?

5 Μούρου: found at P. New York 16. 4.

6-7 μνησαρχῶν οικοδόμων: also in P.S.I. V 456.¹ μνησαρχαί of other trades occur in I 53, 84, VIII 1139, XXXI 2579, P. Harr. 73 (all Oxyrhynchus), O. Bodl. II 1986; μνησαρχία in SB VI 9409 (3). 121 and 145. On the guild of οικοδόμοι (perhaps masons rather than builders) at this period see Zuckert, *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* II 339-43; and on guilds in general and their subordination to the *logistes* see San Nicolò, *Verainswesen* II 55, 64 ff., and Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, 151 ff.

Δλου: palaeographically the reading appears to be Δλου, which does not look promising as a name. The reading must be considered in conjunction with that at the start of l. 21, where the obvious reading is θηρηου, which leads nowhere, whereas if we read the last three letters as δίο this at any rate makes sense. In general the writer's delta is a distinct letter in no way like his sigma, but in βιβλίω in l. 7 the broken delta does seem to be made very like a sigma. It was of course common in certain hands, e.g. the third hand of the present text, to find delta written like sigma. Therefore, though with some hesitation, I propose to read delta in each of the three instances just quoted. The alternative, which Youtie suggests to me, is to suppose that the writer put α for δ

¹ And XLIII 3126.

because he pronounced the syllable that way; there is some evidence for Δ being used in Coptic transcriptions for Greek c or ζ: Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, sub Δ, quotes *συμπάσιον* > *ΚΥΜΠΟΛΙΟΝ* and *τοπάσιον* > *ΤΜΠΛΑΙΟΝ*. This would certainly fit in with the eccentric spelling which the present writer employs.

Θεωρα: Θεωρος is found at *Archiv* v 158. 6, but Θεωρα is unknown. An error for Θε<οδ>ώρας? But it would be strange to have a feminine name.

10 αὐλήν: the word gives good sense in view of the sequel, but the reading is precarious and will just about fit the slight traces remaining.

11 ἀποσθεύειν: apparently not a precise legal term, so that it is uncertain whether Dius received the property through deed of gift or through purchase (for ἀποδίδομαι meaning 'sold' see LSJ s.v. III), or whether, for example, he was taking repossession of it after it had been leased to Didyme.

Διδώμης: a remarkable variant for Διδύμης, which the writer spells correctly in l. 18; cf. below, 18 n., on τώχου.

Ττρο[ν]: iota very doubtful.

12-13 οικητικῆς: an οἰκία οικητικῆ is found in P. Ross. Georg. III 38. 15 and other late Byzantine texts. No doubt what we have here is merely another strange spelling variant, perhaps via οικητικῆ: an οἰκία οικητικῆ occurs in P.S.I. IX 1040. 23 (though the editors, followed by LSJ, suppose it to be different from an οἰκία οικητικῆ).

13-14 ἦν καταλάβομεν [. . .] εἰεν: the writer should have put ἦν ἐάν καταλάβομεθα διάθεον, as, e.g., I 51. 10 f., and, in a parallel context, P.S.I. V 456. 9. He may well have conflated ἦν ἐάν into ἦεν, the trace after καταλάβομεν would suit δ], and διάθεον for διάθεον need cause us no surprise in this text; the difficulty is that before εἰεν there is a long descender. Did he put δ[ι]α]ρεῖεν by mistake?

16 [. . .] εκ βορᾶ οὐς [. . .] ἀλλῆς: at the end sigma would seem to be a correction from nu, but vice versa is equally possible. The slight trace after ους suits eta rather than alpha, which points to the reading [τ]ῆς ἐκ βορᾶ οὐση[ε] ἀλλῆς. οἰκίας is certainly genitive. ἀλλῆς should be dependent on a noun in the feminine plural with which ελευθέρας οὐσας can agree.

17 . . . υρη[. . .] εν: υρ is a good reading, υτ much less so (but εὔρομεν is impossible); at the start one letter only, a large theta, is just possible, pointing to the reading θυρήτρας (l. θυρίδας). There is barely room for μ]εν after this; perhaps we should read ἐν βορᾶ τώχου, assuming genitive for dative, but βορᾶ is hard to construe.

18-19 ελευθέρας οὐσας: in relation to property ελευθερος can mean 'not given in pledge', cf. *SIG* I 364. 5 (Erphesus; second century B.C.) εἰ δέ τις ἐ[σ]θηθε[ρ]ος ἄλλοις κτήματι δειναίμενοι εἰς μ' ἐτέρων ὡς ἐπ' ελευθερος π[ο]ι[ε] κ[α]τήματι; similarly SB VIII 10075. 70 (Cyrene; fourth century B.C.). But to determine this would not require an on-the-spot inspection by builders. I therefore prefer Youtie's suggestion that ελευθερος means 'unblocked', 'free from obstruction', cf. LSJ s.v. I, 2, and is contrasted with other openings mentioned below which are blocked up. This interpretation suits the reading θυρήτρας in l. 17. A θυρίς is πηφρημένη πλίνθος in I 69. 1.

18 τώχου: τώχου > τώχου > τώχου, the first change being correct, the second surprising.

19 [. . .] υρη. [. . .]: just possible, but extremely precarious, is the reading θ[υ]ρήτρας ἐνότιστον τῆς 'the window-openings facing the north side', but there would seem to be no room for δέ. In P. Cair. Zen. V 847 θυρίδας τὰς ἐν τοῖς παροδίοις τώχοις οὐσας are contrasted with τὰς εἰς τὴν αὐλήν βλεπούσας.

20 πλευρᾶς: the meaning 'side of a building' is not in *Wörterbuch*, but see P. Osl. III 111. 225 ἀπηλι(ώτου) πλευρᾶς [ο]ἰκίας πατρικῆς, and XXXVI 2767. 31; cf. also the passages cited in P. Petr. III 48. 16 n.

[.] αὐλής: supply [τῆς αὐτῆς] αὐλής?

20-1 [. . .] υρη[. . .] εν: for the reading δίο after this see l. 8 n. If we are right in looking for a word meaning 'blocked up' there are two equally possible verbs: ἀνοικοδομῆαι, see LSJ s.v. I, 2, and ἐνοικοδομῆαι, see P. Petr. II 12 (r). 12 (= W. *Chrest.* 449) ἐνοικοδομηκότας τὰς θύρας τῶν οἰκίων. We should expect a participial form to balance οὐσας, but perhaps what the writer was aiming at was -οικοδομηθῆναι.

27 Κλαυδίου Ἐρμεία ἐδέξεω: this is the earliest appearance to date of the *defensor civitatis* in Egypt; previously the first examples were in XII 1426, XLIII 3127, both A.D. 332, and P.S.I. VII 767,

for the date see above, 3 n. In all three texts, but never elsewhere, the *defensor* acts in conjunction with the *curator*. By the date of P.S.I. 767 the acting *defensor* at Oxyrhynchus is Achillion. On the office see Rees, *JJP* 6 (1952) 73 ff., and J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte*, 114–18.

In XVII 2110. 2 (A.D. 370) there occurs *πρωτανός Κλαυδίου Ἑρμείου*, but the interval of time is considerable. A Hermias was *exactor* at Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 323–4 (I 60, XII 1430), but he may well be Flavius Hermias who was *curator* in A.D. 332 (1426, 3127, P.S.I. 767) and *defensor* in A.D. 336 (SB III 6294).

28 ff. This is the first time that four public doctors have appeared simultaneously at Oxyrhynchus, though in I 52 (A.D. 325), where Didymus and Silvanus reappear, the lacuna in l. 4 would allow two more names to be supplied. Heron and Didymus had been in practice since at least A.D. 316, see VI 896 ii.

33 There is no room for the expected *ὑμῖν*.

34 *Σεμενοῦφης*: it is odd that Paesius should be identified by his mother's name.

39 *τῷ δημοσίῳ λογιστηρίῳ*: is it relevant that this is frequently a place of detention, cf. P. Beatty Panop. I. 228 n.?

41 f. The papyrus was folded along l. 42 and has mostly frayed away. The first two letters are clear but very cursively written; they might be read *οἰ*, *οι*, *ει*, or even *πi*. If *οι* is right, it might just be possible to read *τραύματ[α μετ'] οἰ[θ]ήμ[ατος]*, cf. SB III 6003. 11 *πλήγμα μετ' οἰθ[ή]ματος*.

42 *ὑμένος*: new to the papyri. The word is used of various membranes by the medical writers (see LSJ), especially of the one surrounding the brain (Arist. *HA* 494 b29), which seems to be the membrane meant in the present papyrus. The injuries have every appearance of being serious. Before it *τῷ* is perhaps to be read.

45 *πήχαιος*: presumably < *πήχος*, but the classical form of the genitive is *πήχεως*. Alternatively, Youtie has pointed out to me that the odd vowel change *ε* > *οι* occurs in P. Wisc. 8. 27 (A.D. 561) *οἰνίκιον* = *ἐνοίκιον*; also in P. Princ. II 103. 2 (fifth century) *ἀντεφώνης[ε]ν με* is for *ἀντεφώνησεν μοι*.

46 *ἀμοιχης*: the only other papyrological occurrence is in I 52. 15 f. *ἔχουσαν κατὰ τῶν εἰσίων ἀμυχάς*.

48 *πελωμάτιον*; the diminutive is new.

50 *Παῦν κ*: there is a trace of ink after *κ*, but it does not look like part of another numeral.

53 After this line there is no trace of a fourth signature.

VI. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

3196. HOROSCOPE

P. Oxy. A. 9 B4/11 L

11.5 × 20.0 cm.

A.D. 58 or later

The papyrus is complete except for a strip from the lower left-hand side and contains on the front a horoscope cast for Tybi 16–17 of the fourth year of Nero. The astrological information can be checked against the tables of B. Tuckerman, *Planetary, Lunar and Solar Positions A.D. 2–A.D. 1649* (1964) for the appropriate date, 11–12 January A.D. 58; the data are all correct except for the position of Venus which is stated to be in Aquarius but has by this time moved into Capricorn. The back of the papyrus is blank.

→ (ἔτους) δ Νέρωνος, Τῦβ(ι) ις εἰς ιζ'

ἥρας ἔ νυκτός.

Κρόνος ἐν Ταύρωι.

vac.

Ζεὺς Καρκίνωι.

5 *Ἥλιος Ἑρμῆς Cελήνη

ἐν Αἰγόκερωι.

*Ἄρης ἐν Ζυγῶι.

*Αἰφροδ(ίτη) *Υδροχῶι.

*Ὠροσκοπεῖ Παρθένωι.

'Year 4 of Nero, Tybi 16 to 17, the fifth hour of the night. Saturn in Taurus. Jupiter in Cancer. Sun, Mercury, Moon in Capricorn. Mars in Libra. Venus in Aquarius. The Horoscope in Virgo.'

3197. DIVISION OF SLAVES

23 3 B. 8/G(8) and (9)

40 × 32.5 cm.

20 October A.D. 111

This large papyrus is virtually complete, but its surface is in several places badly rubbed and abraded.¹ That so much of it is legible is a tribute to the skill of Mr W. E. H. Cockle. Down to l. 19 it is written in a competent professional cursive. The text as a

¹ Note on the ink by E.G.T. 'Close inspection shows that the surface of the papyrus is intact except where the ink has eaten it away. The ink is therefore of mordant type, not composed of carbon, as is normal at this period. This is the earliest dated example of use of a mordant ink. It is quite possible that this text was written in Alexandria.'

whole is neatly laid out with generous margins on all sides, five to six centimetres at top, right, and left, at least ten centimetres at the foot. The back is blank.

The papyrus contains a contract for the dividing up of slaves belonging to the estate of the deceased Tiberius Julius Theon (= Theon I) between his two sons Tiberius Julius Theon (= Theon II) and Tiberius Julius Sarapion, and his grandson Tiberius Julius Theon (= Theon III), who is no doubt receiving the portion of his deceased father. The division is made equally and by lot (17 $\phi\nu$ [ἐ]λαχεν). The contract contains no prescript, *βεβαιώσις*, or penalty-clause; it was doubtless a private agreement, drawn up for the parties by one of their slave notaries. On divisions of property see H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen* (1919), 77 ff.; and for lists of papyrological examples A. Calderini, *Stud. Arangio-Ruiz* III, 277-9 (up to 1953); O. Montevicchi, *La Papirologia* 208-9; add P. Brux. Inv. E 7198, W. van Rengen, *CE* 48 (1973) 311 ff.

The number of slaves involved cannot be determined with certainty. Many have some distinguishing feature noted (trade, name of mother, present whereabouts, etc.), but this is not always so, and in some cases one cannot be sure whether a word is a name or a description, e.g. *σειμών* (7), *μακρόν* (11). A possible indication is the writer's punctuation, since he normally leaves a gap between different names, but not between the name of a slave and his description. There is also the need to afford some method of distinguishing slaves of the same name. On this basis I think it probable that each party is receiving fifteen slaves; in addition Theon II and Sarapion already had five slaves, Theon III, apparently, only four (but the reading in l. 16 is precarious). This gives a total of fifty-nine; but the number may have been nearer seventy. Nor is this all: every one of the slaves now being divided up is male, yet such a large establishment will have contained many females. Note too that ll. 17-18 speak of joint ownership for the present of [τῶν λ)οιτῶν ἀδιαιρέ[τ]ων σωματίων. We shall hardly be in error, I think, if we suppose Theon I to have owned at least a hundred slaves. This figure is astonishingly high for Roman Egypt. Mrs Biežuńska-Małowist, *JJP* 15 (1965) 70, remarks 'rares sont les documents . . . où on pourrait trouver chez le même propriétaire plus qu'un ou deux esclaves'; and the highest numbers I have noticed are eighteen in P. Mich. V 326 (A.D. 48) and a fourth share of six in P. Flor. I 50. 94-6 (A.D. 268). The slaves in 3197 have a variety of occupations: five *νοτάριοι* (short-hand writers?—certainly not officials, the only meaning listed in *Wörterbuch*), two amanuenses, a scribe, a repairer, a cook, and a barber.

The Tiberii Julii were Roman citizens and Alexandrian notables, who between them had held the posts of hypomnematographus, archidicastes, strategus of the city, and gymnasiarch of Alexandria. The provenance of 3197 as well as the place name Cercethyris in l. 14 (cf. 7 n. on *Βερκὺ*) proves that they had estates in the Oxyrhynchite nome; and the presence of a slave in the Arsinoite (11) (if the reading is right) and another ἀπὸ Κουσσῶν (15) suggests property in the Fayum and the Hermopolite also. On large estates in the Roman period cf. Tomsin, *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* II 211 ff., and P. Mich. IX 599 introd. Possible references to the family of the Tiberii Julii are discussed in the notes. It must be stressed that identifications are particularly hazardous as the Alexandrine

nobility was especially fond of the name Theon: see Bell, P. Jews 1912. 17 n., and H. Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 102-4, who lists no less than eighteen such bearers of the name (not necessarily all different) from the first two centuries of Roman rule.

- ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Θέων γενόμενος στρατηγὸς τ[ῆς] πόλεως
καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆς καὶ
Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Σαραπίων ἀδελφὸς καὶ Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Θέων ἀδελφιδουτῶν
ἱερωνικῶν καὶ ἀτελῶν διειρηθεῖται
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκ τῶν καταλελειμμένων ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Ἰουλίου Θεῶνος γενομένων
ὑπομηματογράφου καὶ γυμνα-
σιάρχου πατρὸς μὲν Θεῶνος ἀρχιδικαστοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος πάππου δὲ Θεῶ[νος]
ἱερωνικοῦ δουλικῶν σωματίων
5 τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα, καὶ ἐπιβεβληκέναι Τιβερίῳ [Ἰ]ουλίῳ Θεῶνι τῷ γενομένῳ
στρατηγῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ
ἀρχιδικαστῆι Ἡρώνα γραμματέα Ἐπάγαθον . . . μ. τρην Ἀ. [. . .] . . . ἡ
πρότερον Διογένους Θεῶνος Βακχίου
Τερπνόν [. . .] . . . ῥον Ἡρακλῶν προχειροφόρον Διογᾶν Ἀ. . . ὤλεσαν σεῖμον Ἡρακ-
λειδίωνα Κορνήλιον τὸν ἐν Βερκὺ
Ἐπιτυγχάν[ο]ντα Ἡλεῖν Ἀμμωνᾶν νοτάριον Γέμελλον Εὐτορᾶν ἀδελφὸν
Ἐῦκαιρον ἀδελφὸν καὶ οὐκ προεῖχεν
ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς περιόντος Κάρπον καὶ Ἀνδροσθένην καὶ Ἀγαθάγγελον Ἀβάσ-
καντον Ἀφροδειτοῦν, Ἰουλίῳ δὲ
10 Σαραπίωνι ἀδελφῷ Δεμᾶν προχειροφόρον Τελεσφόρ[ο]ν ἠπητήν Ὠριμον Τρόφωνα
Διογέρ[η] μάγιρον Ἐπαφρῶν
μακρόν Κ[ό]ρωθον Δημήτριον Λάκωνα Ἐρμ[.] τὸν ἐν Ἀρσινοίτῃ
Ἐπαφρῶν νοτάριον Ἀγαθὸν
νοτάριον Ε[ῦ]πορον Εὐτραπέλου Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀναβάσεως καὶ οὐκ προεῖχεν τοῦ
πατρὸς περιόντος Δημητῶν Κατίλλιον
[Ε]ῦτυχῆν Ἀ[ν]δροσθένην Ἀνάβασις, καὶ Ἰ[ο]υλίῳ Θεῶνι ἱερωνικῆ Σαραπᾶν
νοτάριον Ἀβασκαντίωνα Αἰθίοπ(α)
[Τ]ελεσφόρον Ἀβάσκαντον τὸν ἐν Κερκεθ[ύ]ρει Γέμων κούρεα Ἀγαθήμερον
Πρακτικὸν Ἀρποκῶν Ἀγαθάγγελον
15 [Ε]παφρῶν . . . ῥον Εὐκαιρον νοτάριον Ἀλέξανδρον Γεμέλλης Ἀγαθόποδα ἀπὸ
Κουσσῶν Δημήτριον ἀπὸ τῆς Κάτω το-
παρχίας [.] . ν καὶ οὐκ προεῖχεν ἐτι τ[οῦ] πατρ[ὸς] περιόν[τος] . . . ὀδ. ι-
μον[. . .] Σαραπᾶν Δίδυμ[ο]ν . . . ιαπ. ν, ἕκασ-

[τον δὲ ἡμῶν κυρι]εῦεν ὧν [ἔ]λαχεν [καὶ] διοικε[ῖ]ν περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ ἐὰν αἰρήται
κοινῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος

[ἄν] λιπῶν ἀδιαρε[ῖ]των χωμάτων. ἔτους πεντεκαίδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ

[Σεβας] τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ Φαῶφι κβ̄.

20 (m. 2) Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Σαραπίων εὐδοκῶ τῆι τῶν δούλων διαίρειε ὡς
πρόκειται.

(m. 3) Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Θεῶν γενόμενος στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀρχιδικασ-
τῆς εὐδοκῶ τῆι τῶν δούλων διαίρειε ὡς
πρόκειται.

(m. 4) Τιβέρι[ο]ς Ἰούλιος Θεῶν ἱερονίκης εὐδοκῶ τῆι τῶν δούλων διαίρειε ὡς
πρόκειται.

6 l. Βάκων?, see commentary 10 l. μάγειρον 12 l. Εὐτράπελον?, see commentary

¹ We, Tiberius Julius Theon, former strategus of the city and archidicastes, and Tiberius Julius Sarapion his brother, and Tiberius Julius Theon his nephew, one of the class of victors at the sacred games who are exempt from taxation, agree with one another that we have divided among ourselves out of the slaves left by Tiberius Julius Theon, former hypomnematographus and gymnasiarch, father of Theon archidicastes and of Sarapion, grandfather of Theon victor at the sacred games, those mentioned below; that there have fallen to the share of Tiberius Julius Theon, former strategus of the city and archidicastes, Heron scribe, Epagathus, A formerly the property of Diogenes son of Theon, Bacchius (?), Terpnus, Heraclias amanuensis, Diogas, A . . . oleas snub-nosed, Heraclidion, Cornelius who is at Berky, Epitynchanon, Elis, Ammonas notary, Gemellus, Euporas his brother, Eucarus his brother, and the slaves whom he already possessed when his father was still alive, Carpus and Androsthenes and Agathangelus, Abascantus, Aphroditous; and to Julius Sarapion his brother, Demas amanuensis, Telesphoros repairer, Horimus, Trophon, Diogenes cook, Epaphrys the tall, Corinthus, Demetrius, Lacon, Herm . . . who is in the Arsinoite, Epaphrys notary, Agathys notary, Euporus, Eutrapelus (?), Alexander son of Anabasis, and the slaves whom he already possessed when his father was alive, Demetras, Catillius, Eutyches, Androsthenes, Anabasis; and to Julius Theon victor at the games, Sarapas notary, Abascantion Ethiopian, Telesphorus, Abascantus who is at Cercethyris, Geminus barber, Agathemerus, Practicus, Harpocras, Agathangelus, Epaphrys . . ., Eucarus notary, Alexander son of Gemella, Agathopous from Cussae, Demetrius from the Lower toparchy . . . and the slaves whom he already possessed when his father [sic] was still alive, . . . daemon (?), Sarapas, Didymus, . . . ; and each of us is to be master of those whom he has obtained by lot and to deal concerning them as he chooses, the rest of the undivided slaves being common property for the present.

Fifteenth year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Phaophi 22.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Tiberius Julius Sarapion, agree to the division of the slaves as aforesaid.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Tiberius Julius Theon, former strategus of the city and archidicastes, agree to the division of the slaves as aforesaid.'

(4th hand) 'I, Tiberius Julius Theon, victor at the games, agree to the division of the slaves as aforesaid.'

¹ Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Θεῶν: of the bearers of the name Theon known to have been archidicastes he cannot be identified with the holder of the office in A.D. 58 (II 268) and it is hardly possible that he is the father of C. Julius Dionysius, who held the office before A.D. 130 (OGIS II 682; on the date see A. and E. Bernard, *Les inscriptions du Colosse de Memnon*, no. 27); the latter is perhaps a member of the family of C. Julius Theon, ex-hypomnematographus and archidicastes in the early part of the first century A.D., who also had estates in the Oxyrhynchite (XII 1434); cf. further Scherer,

P. Phil. 1, introd. In XXXVIII 2865-6 payment of corn is authorized by the γραμματεῖς of Julius Theon and Julius Sarapion respectively in A.D. 122-3. This Theon looks to be our man (unless he is Theon III) and from 2865 we learn that he had by now become gymnasiarch, presumably of Alexandria. Of the men known from the *Acta Alexandrinorum* this Theon could be identical with the envoy before Trajan (X 1242 = Musurillo, *op. cit.* no. viii) or with the advocate before Hadrian (Musurillo no. ix A). Cf. also the note to Theon I below and P. Erlang. 17. 6 (reign of Hadrian),] εἶδει α' (= πρότερον) Ἰουλίον Θεῶνος.

² γενόμενος στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀρχιδικαστής: on the former office see Bilabel, *RE* IV. A 247-50 and CPJ III 454. 1-2 n.; on the latter, Calabi, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 406-24 and XXII 2349. 26-7 n. From Θεῶνος ἀρχιδικαστοῦ in I. 4 it appears that γενόμενος goes with στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως only and that Theon was archidicastes in office when this papyrus was drawn up. It was certainly a superior office to that of strategus of the city, see Jouguet, *P. Mil. Vogl.* I, p. 220.

² Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Σαραπίων: no doubt the Julius Sarapion of 2866 referred to above, from which we learn that by A.D. 122-3 he had followed his father in holding the office of hypomnematographus; if so he cannot be the archidicastes Sarapion known from the same year (III 592). The Tiberius Julius Sarapion who was a banker at Alexandria in the reign of Commodus (SB VI 9145) is no doubt a descendant. Cf. too VI 919. 2 (probably A.D. 211), where write κληρονόμων Ἰουλι(ου) Σαραπί(ωνος) rather than κλη(ρ)ου κτλ.

² Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Θεῶν ἀδελφεῶς κτλ.: it is tempting to identify him with the Julius Theon τῶν ἱερονικῶν καὶ ἀτελῶν νεοκίτρος τῆσδ' μ[ε]γαλ[ο]σὺν Σαραπίδος [γ]ενόμενος ἀρχιδικαστής [εἰρενῆς] καὶ ὑπομη[μα]τ[ισ]τογράφος, who presides over a court case in the period A.D. 121-38 (P. Tebt. II 286 = M. Chr. 83). This would afford one more instance of high office being held by this family (that the office of archidicastes could run in families is well known; cf. P. Bas. 20. 5 n.). Another possible identification is suggested by P. Wisc. 22, together with certain Michigan texts published by Youtie, *ZPE* I (1967) 163-9 (where the Wisconsin papyrus is corrected): the papyri, from the years A.D. 156-61, relate to the estates in the Oxyrhynchite nome of Tiberius Julius Theon and Tiberius Julius Theon also called Tryphon. In A.D. 161 the former is *ἐπαρχος ἀρχιδικαστής*. Unquestionably these men belong to the same family as the Tiberii Julii of the present text, and it is not impossible that Theon III, who was no doubt a young man though not a minor in A.D. 111, should have become archidicastes at an advanced age in A.D. 161. But if so, identification with the former archidicastes of P. Tebt. 286 must be abandoned. Cf. also the reference to the former property of Ἰουλίον Θεῶνος in XII 1475. 17 (A.D. 267).

² διειρηθῆναι: on the form see W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis*, 38 n. 2.

³ Τιβέριον Ἰουλίον Θεῶνος γενόμενον ὑπομηματογράφου κτλ.: he may well be the Ἰούλιος Θεῶν γενόμενος ὑπομηματογράφος whose decision is quoted in P. Phil. I (c. A.D. 103-24) (but see Scherer's note (ii 49) for other possibilities). B.G.U. III 832 (A.D. 113) mentions a trial ἐπὶ Θεῶνος τοῦ Θεῶνος γεννη[μα]ταρχήκτου, who could be Theon I and Theon II.

On the office of hypomnematographus see H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung*, 349-52 and J. R. Rea, *XL* pp. 31 ff.

³⁻⁴ γυμνασιάρχου: not in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques* (1967).

⁶ . . . μ. τρη: written without a gap after Ἐπάγαθον and so likely to be a descriptive title. εἰρημέτρην is possible, but the νεοκίτρος seems elsewhere to be a government official.

⁶ Λογόνεος Θεῶνος Βακχίου: unless Βάκχ(ε)ιος is a new demotic, the three genitives are intolerable; read Θεῶνος (τοῦ), or (τοῦ καὶ), Βακχίου or, more probably, Βάκχου. However, there remains a possibility that Βάκχ(ε)ιος is a demotic. A passage of Satyrus suggests that an Alexandrian deme was named after Bacchis, the eponymous hero of the Bacchiad dynasty of Corinth, see XXXVII 2465 fr. 3 ii 12-20 and 12 n.; cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I 45, II 124 (n. 70), III 15, where correct all three mentions of 'Bacchias' to 'Bacchis'. The conjectured form of the demotic is Βακχιεύς (add to the previous references Fraser, *op. cit.* III p. 153), but Βάκχαιος is an acceptable alternative; compare the Alexandrian demotic Βερενικεῖος with Βερενικεύς, which was the form used in Ptolemais Hermiou, cf. Fraser, *op. cit.* II 125 (n. 76).

⁷ Τερπνόν: new to the papyrus, but attested in Pape, *Eigennamen*. After it probably a description. προχειροφόρον: not in the papyrological lexica and known to LSJ only from the glossators; but attested now in P. Petaus 34. 24 (where see note).

'Α...ωλεαν: or 'Α...ωμαν; neither suggests a likely name.
 σεμάν: spacing suggests this is an adjective qualifying the preceding name rather than a new name.

Βερκύ: also mentioned in P.Bad. II 26. 41 from the Hermopolite and XIV 1720. 2, presumably from Oxyrhynchus.

9 Κάρπων: also the name of a slave in X 1294; cf. Petronius' pun, *Cena Trimalchionis*, 36. 8.

'Ανδροθένης και 'Αγαθάγγελον 'Αβάσκαντον: none is given any distinguishing feature although their namesakes occur in lines 13-14 below. However, as the slaves in l. 9 are not being distributed for the first time, confusion would not arise. The name Agathangelus occurs elsewhere only at P.Tebt. II 414. 32 and P.Ross.Georg. II 24. 4.

'Αφροδείτου: she and Anabasis (l. 13, cf. l. 12) are the only females mentioned (cf. introduction), and neither is among slaves now being allocated for the first time.

10 Τελεσφόρο[ν]: a good reading both here and in l. 14, though it is strange that in the second instance the slave is given no distinguishing description. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, knows the name only from SB I 2033. 2, in the form Τελεσφόρος.

Ῥρμιον: the name is new.

Τρόφωνα: found only at P.Amh. II 128. 93. Τρόφωνα can be read, but the name would be new to the papyri. Τρόφωνα is not possible.

11 μακρόν: the need to distinguish this Epaphrys from those in ll. 11 and 15 suggests that μακρός is not a proper name but a nickname ('lofty').

Κ[ί]βρανθον: there is insufficient space for Κήρανθον, known as a slave's name from (e.g.) II 244. Κόρινθος is not in *Namenbuch*, but cf. SB X 10500. 30.

Δημήτριον: given no description here, although his namesake appears, with a description, in l. 15.

'Αγαθόν: elsewhere only at P.Osl. II 52. 21, where there is no need to correct to 'Αγαθοῦ.

12 Ἐντραπέλον: it is hardly possible that a slave should be referred to by the name of his father, and there is a gap between this name and Ε[ν]τραπον preceding (cf. introduction). Most probably we should read Ἐντραπέλον. The name is not in *Namenbuch* nor D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticum alterum papyrologicum*, but is given by Pape, *Eigennamen*.

Δημητράν: not in *Namenbuch* nor Foraboschi, *op. cit.*

Κατίλιον: also attested in IX 1201.

13 'Αβασκαντίωνα Αἰθίοσ(α): the name Abascantion is new. Spacing and analogy with (e.g.) P.Flor. I 50. 62 and 94 suggest that Αἰθίοσ(α) is a description (= negro).

Κερκε[ύ]ρις: a village in the *λύβος τοπαρχία* of the Oxyrhynchite nome (X 1285. 70).

κουρία: a slave barber is also found in P.Mich. v 326. 8.

Πρακτικόν: not in *Namenbuch* but given by Pape, *op. cit.*

14 πατρ[ός]: presumably an error for πάππου.

... οδ. ιμορ[...]: not 'Αγαθοδαίμονα.

16-17 ἐκαστον δὲ ἡμῶν κτλ.: read and restored by analogy with other διαρέσεις, especially P.Flor. 50. 114 f. ἕκαστον δὲ ἡμῶν κρατεῖν και κυρ[ε]ν ὡν ἔλαχεν ὡς πρόκειται και χράσθαι και οικονομῆν και διοικῆν περι αὐτῶν ὡς ἐάν αἰρήται.

17 ὁ ἐάν αἰρήται: normally either καθ' ὃν ἐάν αἰρήται τρόπον ὅτι ὡς ἐάν αἰρήται.

3198. LOAN OF MONEY

21 3B. 29/C(4)A

12.5 x 9.5 cm.

December A.D. 145/
January A.D. 146?

This fragment of a loan of money is drawn up in the form of a chirograph and made for a period of five months only. Both parties to the contract are women and both would appear to belong to a social class which may be described as well-to-do: Prepousa, the

lender, is a freedwoman of a former gymnasiarch of Antinoopolis and Herais, the borrower, who was originally from the Greek city of Ptolemais, is married to Apollonius, a former exegete of Oxyrhynchus. The back is blank.

The document belongs in the 9th(?) year of an unknown emperor (12 n.). Its date is later than the foundation of Antinoopolis (A.D. 130) and, because of the absence of Aurelii, would seem likely to be earlier than A.D. 212. If we may rely on the singular *Ἐβρα[ί]του* (see 9 n.), the only emperors who come in question within these time limits are Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Furthermore, in Tybi of his ninth year Marcus was still ruling jointly with Lucius Verus. This would seem to leave us with Pius as the only possibility; but the absence of Aurelii is not absolutely decisive. Features which point to a third-century date for the text are referred to in 4 n. and 9 n., and palaeographically I should be inclined to put the competent, right-sloping, semi-cursive script rather later than A.D. 145-6.

On loans in the papyri see R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*², 341-9, and H. Kühnert, *Zum Kreditgeschäft in den hell. Papyri* (1965).

→ 'Ηραῖς Πλουτογένου τοῦ Ἀντίοχου ἀπὸ Πτο-
 λεμαίδος τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ Θεωείτου
 μετὰ κυρ[ί]ου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνίου ἐξη-
 γητεύσαντος τῆς Ὄξυρυγχεῖτων πόλεως
 5 καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει Πρεπούση ἀπελευθέρᾳ [
 Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀμφείωνος Διονυσίου γυμ[να]-
 ειαρχήσαντος τῆς Ἀντιοείων πόλεως κ[αὶ] ὡς
 χρηματίζει χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρ[ὰ] σοῦ
 διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου σου ἀρ[γυ]ρ[ί]ου Ἐβρα[ί]του νομ[ί]μα-
 10 τος δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τέσσα[ρα]
 [κ]εφαλαίου τόκου δραχμ[α]ίου τοῦ] μηνὸς ἐκ[ά]στου
 [ἀ]πὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Τύβι τρι[ῦ] ἐνεστῶ]τος ἐν[ά]του
 [ἐ]τος εἰς ἀπόδοσιν Παῦνι τριακάδι τ]οῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους,
 [ἐ]ὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶ καθὰ γέγραπται ἐκ]τεῖμα [σοι τὸ
 15 [μ]ὲν προκείμενον κεφάλαιον μεθ' ἡμ]ιολία[ς] καὶ
 [τὸ]ν τόκον τῶν ὑπερτεσεί]τος χρόνου

'Herai, daughter of Plutogenes the son of Antiochus, from Ptolemais the metropolis of the Thinite, with her husband Apollonius, former exegetes of the city of the Oxyrhynchites and howso-
 ever he is styled, as guardian, to Prepousa, freedwoman of Dionysius also called Amphion, son of
 Dionysius, former gymnasiarch of the city of the Antinoites and howsoever he is styled, greeting.
 I agree that I have received from you from hand to hand out of your house one hundred and forty-
 four silver drachmas of the coinage of the Emperor as principal, at interest of one drachma (per

¹ If the text belongs in an eleventh year, year 11 of Pius is A.D. 147/8, of Marcus 170/1.

mina) in each month, from the present month Tybi of the current ninth year, to be repaid on the thirtieth of Payni in the same year; and if I do not repay as written, I will pay you the aforesaid principal increased by a half and the interest for the period overdue...'

1-2 Πτολεμαῖδος τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ Θενέτου: it is useful to have documentary confirmation of Ptolemy's statement (iv. 5. 66) that the Greek city of Ptolemais functioned as metropolis of the surrounding nome.

3-4 Ἀπολλωνίου ἐξηγητεύσαντος: an Apollonius ἐναρχος ἐξηγητής of Oxyrhynchus appears in XXXI 2584. 3 (A.D. 211), and Apollonii who were formerly exegetes there in VIII 1112. 2 (A.D. 188) and P.Harr. 75. 3 (third century; A.D. 249?).

4 τῆς Ὀξυρηνχειτῶν πόλεως: if the papyrus is really to be dated A.D. 145-6 this is a remarkably early occurrence of this phrase, which did not become standard until well into the third century; cf. however III 494. 38, ἀγορανόμ[ο]ς τῆς Ὀξυρηνχειτῶν πόλεως, of A.D. 156 and XLIII 3088. 7-8 Ὀξυρηνχειτῶν τῆ πόλει of A.D. 128; D. Hagedorn, Z.P.E. 12 (1973) 277-92.

5 Πρεπούση: otherwise only in P. Col. Zen I. 54. 3: κανηφόρου Ἀρκενύης Φιλαδέλφου Πρεπούσης τῆς Δημητρίου. It is noteworthy that Prepousa, unlike Herais, has no κύριος, cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora* II, 355-8.

6-7 Διονυσίου γυμνασιαρχήσαντος: not in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques* (1967).

9 ἐξ οἴκου σου: once again we have a phrase which did not become common until much later than the middle of the second century. In fact it is not until the fourth century that the addition of the personal pronoun to ἐξ οἴκου becomes regular. The only second-century example I have noticed is P.S.I. XII 1253 (Oxyrhynchus; A.D. 186) - a good parallel throughout - where 1. 5 reads ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ ἐξ οἴκου σου κτλ.

Ὀββα]στοῦ: this seems regularly to be used in the singular when there was only one emperor and in the plural when there were more than one. But exceptions do occur, e.g. P.Mich. III 188 and P.Mich. XI 605, both no doubt written by the same scribe, which use *Ὀββαστῶν* in the reign of Hadrian.

11 τόκου δραχμῶν τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου: cf. J. Herrmann, *JJP* 14 (1962) 23-31. The usual expression is τόκος δραχμῶν ἐκάστης μῶν κατὰ μῆνα ἑκάστου, but it was not uncommon, at any rate in the Oxyrhynchite nome, to substitute τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου for κατὰ μῆνα ἑκάστου. The omission here of reference to the mina is surprising and may be just a slip; cf. however P. Petas 31. 5-6 (A.D. 183-4) τόκου δραχμῶν κατὰ μῆνα.

12 ἐν[ά]του: ἐν[δεκά]του is almost certainly too large for the space.

14 ff. τὸ μὲν προκείμενον κεφάλαιον. . . . καὶ τὸν τόκον: for μὲν . . . καὶ see Mayer, *Grammatik* II (3), 130, with reference in particular to UPZ I 125. 19 ἀποτείστω τὸ μὲν δάνειον ἡμῶλον καὶ τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου τοὺς τόκους. (In SB X 10246 = II 304. 12f., ἐκτείσω σοι τὸ πᾶν προκείμενον κεφάλαιον, we should read τὸ μὲν προκείμενον as has been confirmed from a photograph kindly supplied by Cambridge University Library.)

3199. LETTER OF HARPOCRATION

22 3B. 19/M (2-3)a

Fragment a, 7 × 8.5 cm.
Fragment b, 7 × 9 cm.

Second century

Two non-contiguous fragments of a letter concerning commonplace but to us not very intelligible business affairs. The extent of the gap between the two fragments cannot be estimated.

→ Ἀρποκ[ρα]τίων Φιλαῖτι τῷ
ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. καθὼς
ἐγτειλάμην σοι μὴ ἀ-

μελήρης τοῦ διαπέμψε

5 (δραχμᾶς) β- εἰς τὸ πλοῖον.' καὶ δήλωσον μοι

περὶ ὧν ἐνετειλάμην

σοι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀπε-
τήσεως καὶ εἰ δεδώκα-
σιν οἱ περὶ Ἐσιδώρου.10 μὴ [ο]ὐν ἀμελήρης, ἐν . . .
... [

[. . . .] . [. . . .] . [. . .]

ρον. ἐρρώστέ [c]ε

εὐχομαι.

15 ἀπάξου τὸν πατέρα

Σαπρίωνα.

Back → [Φι]λαῖτι π(α)ρὰ Ἀρποκρατίων[ο]ς [c]

4 l. διαπέμψαι 7 l. ἀπαίτησεως 9 l. Ἰσιδώρου 13 l. ἐρρώσθαι

'Harpochraton to his brother Phileas, greeting. As I ordered you, do not neglect to send 2 drachmas to the boat. And inform me about the affairs concerning which I gave you orders, and about the collection, and whether the men in Isidorus's charge have paid. So do not neglect the matter. . . I pray for your health. Greet our father Saprion.'

4 εἰς τὸ πλοῖον: above translated 'to the boat', but 'for the boat' is also possible.

10 f. Apparently not ἐν γάρ, ἐν εἰδώς, or ἐν ἐπι/στάμενος.

12 f. Ἐσι[δω]ρον could be read.

3200. LEASE OF HALF A HOUSE

5 1B. 57/K (a)

7.5 × 17 cm.

Second/third century

This is a conventional Oxyrhynchite property-lease of the Roman period. For leases of this kind see the introduction to P. Yale 69. The end is missing, but the surviving part preserves the terms of the lease. It is for five years, at a rent of 72 drachmas *p.a.*, payment to be made half-yearly.

The handwriting is a practised and not unattractive cursive of a very common type, which may be assigned to the late second or early third century. The papyrus refers to the 'coming second year' without specifying the emperor. The back is blank.

→ Ἐμίθεωσεν Σαράμμων Χαί-
ρήμονος μητρὸς Σινθεύτος
ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως Βησῆτι Ἀρ-

ποκράτος μητρὸς Ταυσοράπιος
 5 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως εἰς ἔτη πέντε
 ἀπὸ νεομηθίας Θῶθ τοῦ ἰσών-
 τος δευτέρου ἔτους τὸ ὑπάρχον
 αὐτῷ προὶν παρὰ τῷ μεμισθω-
 μένῳ ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Νότου
 10 Κρηπίδος ἡμῖν μέρος οἰκίας
 ὑφ' ἣν κατάγιον ἐν χρηστηρίοις
 πᾶσι, ἐνοικίου κατ' ἔτος δραχμῶν
 ἐβδομήκοντα δύο, ἅπερ βε-
 βαιουμένης τῆς μεθώσεως
 15 ἀποδοτῶ ὁ μεμισθωμένος τῷ
 μεμισθωκῶτι κατ' ἔτος ἐν δόσει
 δυεὶ δι' ἑξαμήνου τὸ ἡμῖν
 ἀνυπερέτως, χρώμενος ἐν
 τ[ο]ῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ
 20 ἡ]μίσει μέρει τῆς οἰκίας ἐν χρη-
 στηρίοις ἀκωλύτως· μετὰ δὲ
 τὸν χρόνον ἐκχωρεῖτω ὁ με-
 μισθωμένος τῆς μεθώσεως,
 παραδοῖς τοὺς τόπους καθαροὺς
 25 ἀπὸ] κρημ[ῶν] καὶ δ[εί]χης
 πάσης ὡς καὶ παρ[ε]ῖλ[η]φεν καὶ
 τὰ]ε [ἔ]φεσ[τ]ώσα[ε] θύρας καὶ κ[λει]ς,
 ἢ ἀποτρεῖσάτω οὐδ' ἐὰν μ[ὴ] παρα-
 δῶ τὴν ἀξίαν τιμὴν ὁ δ' ἐὰν
 30 προσοφειλέσῃ ἐκ τῶν [ἐ]νοικί-
 ων μεθ' ἡ[μ]ιλίας, κ[α]ὶ ἢ πρᾶξις
 ἔστω ἕκ τ[ε] αὐτ[ο]ῦ. . .

3 οξυρυνχῶν 6 l. εἰσόντος 7 ὑπαρχον 10 l. Κρηπίδος 11 ὑφ, l. κατάγιον
 28 l. ἀποτρεῖσάτω

'Sarammon son of Chaeremon and Sintheus, of Oxyrhynchus, has leased to Besas son of Harpocras and Tausorapis, of the same city, for five years from the first day of Thoth of the coming second year, the half which he owns, previously in the hands of the lessee (?), in the South Quay quarter, of a house, beneath which is a cellar, with all appurtenances, at a rent of 72 drachmas a year, which if the lease is confirmed the lessee shall pay the lessor in two instalments a year, half the sum

at six-monthly intervals, without any delay, he together with his assigns having the use of the half of the house leased to him with appurtenances without hindrance; and at the end of the period the lessee shall relinquish the lease, giving up the rooms free from filth and dirt of every kind, in the condition in which he has received them, together with the existing doors and locks, or shall forfeit the proper value of whatever he fails to give up and whatever he still owes out of the rents, increased by half; and the right of execution shall be against him and (his property. . .).'

6-7 Most property leases take effect from the new year, whether the contract was drawn up before the period began, as here (τοῦ εἰσόντος ἔτους), or after (τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους); otherwise generally at mid-year, Phamenoth.

8-9 προὶν παρὰ τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ: this cryptic phrase is not to my knowledge paralleled in other leases. In some leases (e.g. III 502) and other documents previous ownership is mentioned in the formula πρότερον τοῦ δεῖνα, and it may be that προὶν παρὰ τῷ δεῖνα is merely a variation of this. (To read πρό(τερον) makes the phrase no easier.) We may then suppose that the lease was accompanied (or, more strictly, was preceded) by the sale of the half-house by Besas to Sarammon. A preferable interpretation is that the property was not formerly owned by Besas but formerly on lease to him, that this lease, in fact, is in effect the extension of another lease due to expire at the end of the year. An analogous situation is sometimes implied in land-leases, in the formula ἐμίθωσεν. . . τὰς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ. . . προγεωργουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεμισθωμένου ἀρούρας κτλ. It may be relevant to draw attention to the expression ἐκχωρεῖτω. . . τῆς μεθώσεως, παραδοῖς κτλ. at 22 ff., which is an otherwise insignificant variation of the normal παραδόντω. In P. Yale 69. 26-6 the sense is presumably παραδόντω (or παραδώσει) ὁ μεμισθωμένος τῷ μεμισθωκῶτι.

27 κ[λει]ς: κλειῖδας does not become regular until the third century.

30 ἐκ τῶν [ἐ]νοικί]ων: the singular is more usual, and I had wondered whether δόσειν should be restored; but P. Yale 69, which also requires that payment should be made ἐν δόσει δυεὶ, has ὁ ἐμ[ὲ]ν προσοφειλέσῃ ἀπὸ [τ]ῶν ἐνοικίων (28-9).

32 Missing at the end are: (i) the completion of the πρᾶξις clause, (ii) the κυρία clause, (iii) the date (towards the end of the year, probably Mesore), and (iv) the subscription.

3201. LIST OF CLOTHING

9 1B. 172/G (a)

10.2 x 14 cm.

Third century

This list, written in black ink, is in a plain, semi-cursive script that is most likely to belong in the third century or the latter part of the second. The writer is unsure of his orthography and vacillates between the nominative and the genitive throughout. Similar lists, mostly without prices, are VI 921, VII 1051, XXIV 2424, P. Tebt. II 405, P. Gen. 80, P. Merton II 71, P. Michael. 18, SB VIII 9834, O. Bodl. II 1948, P. Dura 33. The articles are all clothing with one possible exception (see l. 6 n.). Each is accompanied by a sum of money, which is far too small to be its market value (cf. the prices of clothes given in A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 318-20) or even its value when pawned. Possibly the papyrus records interest charged by a pawnbroker on articles deposited with him. Pawning of clothes is often mentioned in the papyri, cf. I 114, VI 936, P. Lond. II (p. 245) 193v, P. Fay. 12 (= M. *Chrest.* 15), P. Ryl. IV 606, P. Ross. Georg. III 11, P. Mich. III 173, and Husselman, *TAPA* 92 (1961) 251 ff. Another possibility is that they are charges for fulling.

The back is blank.

→	ὑπὲρ προτέρου λόγου)	=
	κολοβίου ἐνσήμου) θα()	F
	μονοχίθων μελίττω(ος)	5 α F
	φενόλλου ἰδιοχρόμου)	χ ^β
5	χιθῶνος λευκ(οῦ)	χ ^β
	κῦττη ἀμμίνη	5 α [
	φενόλης μέλας	5 β [
	δερματικ(ή) λευκή	5 α
	δερματικ(ιον) λινούν πρ()	χ ^β
10	κολόβι(ο)ν λινούν θα()	F
	Θῶθ κολοβ(ίου) ἐνσήμου)	F
	γί(νονται)	5 ι =

3 μονοχίθων (l. μονοχίτων), ι written through χ, so in χιθῶνος, l. 5 4 l. φανόλου ἰδιοχρόμου
5 l. χιθῶνος 6 l. κούττη? 7 φενόλης (l. φανόλης), φ corrected from χ 8, 9 l. δαλμα- 9 p
written through π.

'On behalf of the previous account		2 ob.
A striped shirt of Tarsian weave (?)		4 ob.
A single-tunic (?), honey-coloured	1 dr.	5 ob.
An undyed cloak		2 ch.
A white tunic		2 ch.
A sandy-coloured bed (?)	1 dr.	[
A black cloak	2 dr.	[
A white Dalmatian robe	1 dr.	
A linen Dalmatian vest, once fulled (?)		2 ch.
A linen shirt of Tarsian weave (?)		4 ob.
Thoth, A striped cloak		4 ob.
Total	10 dr.	2 ob.'

2 ἐνσήμου): so l. 11. Also P. Ryl. IV 606. 34-5 λ[.]ωτικῆν ἐνσημος (l. λωτικίον ἐνσημον) (where the translation 'a fine counterpane' is unacceptable) and X 1273. 12-14 δελματικομαφόρτην ἀργέντινον ἐνσημον . . . , χιτώνιον . . . ἐνσημον. Cf. Pap.Lugd.Bat. I 15. 6-11 διεπεμφθῆν . . . τὸ πᾶν κολοβί[ι]ων ζεύγος ἄ, ὁ δὲ λινόφωτος . . . ἠργάσατο αὐτὰ δίχα σημείου, where the editors translate δίχα σημείου 'without border' or 'without design/pattern'. But analogies with λακωνόσημος (I 114. 7), πλατίσημος (P. Hamb. I 10. 15), ἀκωόσημος (Pap.Lugd.Bat. III 15. 10-11), etc. support the meaning 'striped' for ἐνσημος (so *LSJ Suppl.*).

θα()): also l. 10. θα(ρεκού) i.e. Ταρκεκού? Cf. P. Strasb. 246. 6 στιχαρίων ταρκεκῶν, P. Beatty Panop. 2. 20 στιχάρια ταρκεκάλα, and for the orthography I 109. 8 λῖνα θαρκεκά, XVI 2053. 8 ὑπ(ἐρ) θαρκεκ(ῶν). In Diocletian's *Edictum de pretiis*, chs. 26-8, there are frequent references to garments as Ταρκεκῶν or Ταρκεκῶν 'Alexandrine'.

Another possibility is θα(ψίνου)='yellow', suggested by Dr John Rea; if right, it would support πρ(άκων) in l. 9; note that nearly every other line has an indication of colour.

3 μονοχίθων: outside the papyri an adjective meaning 'wearing just a tunic', which is obviously unsuitable here. Elsewhere in the papyri it is also an adjective: P.S.I. X 1116. 3-4 στολής [λε?]σῆς μοροκίτωνος and Pap.Lugd.Bat. VI 21. 20 σ[τολή]ν πορφύρην μονοκίτωνον. In a note on the latter Van Groningen suggests, without much confidence, 'a purple garment to be worn with one tunic', or 'consisting of just a tunic' or 'combined with the tunic'. Possibly μονο- has the same force as

μοναχός in X 1273. 13-14 χιτώνιον λευκὸν μοναχόν, and P.Hamb. I 10. 26-7 ἱμάτιον μοναχὸν ἀμπέ- λινον, which Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. (4), takes to mean 'nicht gefüttert, ohne Zeugfutterunterlage', i.e. 'unlined'.

μελίττω(ος): here obviously used of colour. Elsewhere only at VI 936. 11, μελίττω στεφάνια, which is held to mean 'honey-sweet garlands'; cf. SB III 7033. 38 δερματίσιον μελιτόχρωον.

4 φενόλλου): Latin *raemula*; cf. P. Yale 82. 8n.

6 κούττη: for κούττη? For a bed included in a list of clothes cf. W. *Chrest.* 244. 3 and 5 κούττην, SPP XX 46. 27 κλείνη ὄνηλατος, P. Dura 33. 11 κλεινω[ι].

ἀμμίνη: with κούττη in a papyrological context this would naturally mean 'a sandy plot of land', but this is clearly unsuitable here, where ἀμμίνη must be used of colour. Cf. perhaps P. Strasb. 131 (= SB V 8013). 6]υκαμμινον ἡμετριβήν κλιμαστον ἀπὸ βύζινης πορφύρας, later corrected (*Papyrus grees. . . de Strasbourg*, ed. J. Schwartz, p. 184) to]λευκοάμμινον (*sic*); but indexed under λευκάμ- μινος), which is presumably to be understood as 'of the colour of white sand'. ἀμμίνη, derived from ἄμμα 'cord', 'rope' (cf. XXIV 2424. 44 ἄμματος στυριδ(ιον) ἄ), is an improbable formation.

8-9 δερματικ(ή), δερματικ(ιον): for δαλμα-; see Murri, *Aegyptus* 23 (1943), pp. 121-7. No connexion with δέρμα.

9 πρ(): an abbreviation found also of clothing in P. Hib. I 67. 10 ff. (W. *Chrest.* 306) τιμά[ς] ὀθονίων τῶν [συντελ]ομένων εἰς τὸ [βα]λ[υκ]ῶν μη() κα πρ() ξ, / ἰ(τοῖ ?) κη, where the editors tentatively suggest πρ(οκεφάλαια). Here it must be an adjective, perhaps πρ(ωτόγναφος), cf. e.g. P. Tebt. II 406. 14 κιντόνιον πρ[ωτό]γναφος. LSJ translate 'fresh from the fuller's', i.e. new. Perhaps rather 'only fulled once', i.e. relatively new but not as new as ἀγναφος; cf. P. Michael. 18. col. ii 2 n., P. Mert. II 71. 11 n., and Blümner, *Der Maximaltarif des Diocletian*, p. 115. Another possibility is πρ(άκ(ων)), cf. P. Tebt. II 405. 1 κθῶν πράκων, and SB III 6024. 3 στιχαρομοφόρον πρ[ά]κτων.

3202. INVITATION TO A CROWNING¹

40 5B. 109/K (1-4)E

4.7 × 3.3 cm.

Late third/early fourth century

An invitation from a prytane to his crowning (στέμμις), to take place on the following day. The location is not specified and it is impossible to be sure whether this will have varied according to the nature of the office involved; if it did, the prytane might have been crowned in the βουλευτήριον, otherwise perhaps in the gymnasium. The practice of crowning magistrates in the metropoleis is well known (see 3177 introd.). A similar invitation to this is contained in XVII 2147, where Eudaemon sends an invitation to dinner in the gymnasium on the occasion of the crowning of his son Nilus on the first of a month. The office is not specified, but was perhaps a gymnasiarchy. Similarly in W. *Chrest.* 41. ii 6 ff., of A.D. 232, there is an account of the crowning of a gymnasiarch by a strategus on the first of Thoth: [Θῶθ α δ] στρατηγός ὑπὸ νύκτα [.] ἐ]ν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἄμα Αὐρή[λι]ω ἐ]στειν εἰς γυμνασιάρχ[ι]αν Αὐρήλιον Π]ελαϊῶν Ἀρπαχίος Ἰερα[κ]ος (?) καὶ ἔθου[ς] ἐν τε τῷ Καισαρείῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ γυ]μνασίῳ. An oddity in the present document is the fact that the crowning was to take place in Tybi, probably on the 9th (see note to l. 4), whereas the other available evidence indicates that the prytane usually took up office on Thoth 1 (SB V 7696. 45 ff., cf. *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 61-5). This is perhaps best explained by the supposition that the investiture was, for

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 20 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, 1971), appendix IV.

some reason, delayed (cf. Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, p. 130, Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 347). For an exhaustive discussion of documents of this type see the introduction to P. Yale 85.

→ καλὶ σε ὁ πρύ-
τανις εἰς τὴν
στῆθιν αὐτοῦ
αὔριον Τύβι θ
5 ἀπὸ ὥρ(α)ς η'.

1 l. καλεῖ

'The prythane invites you to his crowning tomorrow, Tybi 9, from the eighth hour.'

4 The numeral might possibly be read as an alpha, but since other examples of alpha in this text are formed differently, I have preferred theta.

5 Apparently a normal time, cf. XVII 2147. 4, XXXVI 2791. 5.

3203. LEASE OF EXEDRA AND CELLAR

11 1B. 151 (2)/F(a)

12 × 30 cm.

June–July A.D. 400

This contract follows the conventional form of Oxyrhynchite property leases of the Byzantine era, on which see J. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, 274 ff. The lessors are two anchorite nuns, the lessee a Jew.

The back is blank.

→ μ]ετὰ τὴν ὑπαγ[είαν Φλ(αουίου) Θεοδώρου
τοῦ λαμπ[ρο(στάτου) Ἐπειφ .
Αὐρηλίαις Θεοδῶρ[α καὶ
Ταύρι(ν) ἐκ πατρὸς Κυλβανοῦ
5 ἀ]πὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης
'Ο]ξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως μοναχαῖς ἀποτακτικαῖς
παρὰ Αὐρηλίον Ἰωσὴ Ἰούδα Ἰουδαίως
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. ἐκουσίως
ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ νεομηρία[ς
10 τοῦ ἐξῆς μηνὸς Μεσορῆ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
ἔτους ὅς με ἀρχῆ τῆ[ς] τεσσαρεσκαίδεκά[της]
ἰνδικ[τ]ίονος ἀπὸ [τῶ]ν ὑπαρχόντων
ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει
ἐπ' ἀμφοδού Ἰππέων Παρεμβολῆς
15 ἐπίπεδον τόπον ἕνα ἐξέτραν κα[ὶ]

τῆ[ν] ἐν τῷ καταγείω καμάραν μία[ν
κόν] χρηστηρίους πᾶσιν, καὶ τελέ[εω
ὑπέρ] ἔνορκίου αὐτῶν ἐνιαυσίως
ἄρ[γυ]ρίου μυριάδας χιλί[α]ς διακοσίας,
20 γί(νονται) (δηναρίων μυριάδες) Ἄς, καὶ ἐπάνα[γ]κ[ε]ς
ἀποδώσω τὸ ἐνοίκιον
δι' ἐξαμήνου τὸ ἡμ[ε]ρῶν ἀνυπερθέτως,
καὶ ὅποταν βουληθῆ[τ]αι παραδώσω τοὺς
αὐτοὺς τόπους καθα[ρο]ῦς ὡς καὶ παρελήφα.
+ κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις δις[τῆ] γραφίκα καὶ ἔπερ(ωτηθεῖς)
ὡμ(ολόγησα).
25 (m. 2) Αὐρηλίος Ἰωσὴ Ἰούδα ὁ προκίμενος
μεμίσθωμαι τὸ κυμπόσιον καὶ ἀποδώ-
σω τὸ ἐνοίκιον ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρηλίος Ἡλίας
'Ο]πεβαίου ἔγραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὅ' γράμματα μὴ εἰδ(ότος).

2 v remade 4 ταῦριν 7 ἰωηγίουδαίουδαως, l. Ἰουδαῖος, in error for Ἰουδαίου 12 l.
ἰνδικτιῶνος 15 l. ἐξέτραν 23 l. βουληθήτε 24 l. γραφίκα 25 δ: ο corr. from π l.
προκείμενος 27 l. πρόκειται

'The year after the consulship of Flavius Theodorus the most illustrious, Epeiph x. To Aurelia Theodora and Aurelia Tauris, daughters of Silvanus, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, anchorite nuns, from Aurelius Jose son of Judas, Jew, of the same city. I voluntarily undertake to lease from the first day of the next month, Mesore, of the current 76 = 45th year, at the beginning of the fourteenth indiction, out of the property that you own in the aforesaid city of Oxyrhynchus in the Cavalry Camp quarter, one ground-floor room, namely a hall, together with the one cellar in the basement, with all appurtenances, and I shall pay as rent for them annually one thousand two hundred myriads of silver, 1,200 myr. of denarii, and I shall compulsorily pay the rent in six-monthly instalments of one-half of the sum, without any delay, and whenever you wish I shall give up the said rooms free from dirt in the condition in which I have received them. This lease, of which there are two copies, is valid, and in answer to the question I have given my consent.

I, Aurelius Jose, son of Judas, the aforementioned, have leased the dining-room and shall pay the rent as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Elias son of Opebaeus (?), have written for him as he is illiterate.'

1 Eutropius, consul for the East for the year 399, was expelled from the consulship and stripped of all honours by Arcadius' law of 17 August 399 (*Cod. Theod.* ix 40. 17: the date is Seeck's emendation for the impossible 17 January (*xvi kal. feb.*) of the codex. Cf. the account given by Socrates, *Eccles. Hist.* vi 5). The papyrus, with its dating by the single consul, shows that the law, hardly surprisingly, was known at Oxyrhynchus by the following summer.

4 Ταύρι(ν): more probably just a mistaken nu (Mayer² 1 i 171–3) than accusative for dative (J. Humbert, *La disparition du datif en grec*, 178–81: frequent even when there is less syntactical justification than in the examples given there).

6 μοναχαῖς ἀποτακτικαῖς. For ἀποτακτικός see P. Herm. Rees 9. 2 n. Eremitic as opposed to cenobitic monastics were allowed to own property and engage in individual commercial transactions: P. Barison, 'Ricerche sui monasteri dell'Egitto bizantino ed arabo secondo i documenti dei papiri greci', *Aeg.* 18 (1938) 29–148, esp. 39 f., 62 ff., and A. L. Ballini, 'Osservazioni giuridiche a recenti indagini papirologiche sui monasteri Egiziani', *Aeg.* 19 (1939) 77–88, esp. 79–81, and cf. P. Lips. 28, a contract of adoption in which the adopted son becomes an anchorite's heir. On the

overwhelming number of Christian communities and the crowded conditions at Oxyrhynchus at just about this time, see the *Historia Monachorum*, ch. 5, *οὐχ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν κατ' ἄξιον τὰ θαύματα* (sc. at Oxyrhynchus): *γέμει γὰρ ἐνδοθεν οὕτως μοναστηρίων, ὡς τὰ τεῖχη ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξωθεῖσθαι τῶν μοναχῶν, περιέχεται δὲ ἐξωθεν ἐτέροις μοναστηρίοις, ὡς ἄλλην εἶναι παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐξω πόλιν, κτλ.*

8-9 *ἑκατοῖς ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι*: the invariable formula at Oxyrhynchus from A.D. 296 onwards: H. Comfort, *Aeg.* 14 (1934) 286 ff.

11 On the Oxyrhynchite double system of year dating see A. Bataille in V. Grumel, *Traité d'Études Byzantines*, I, La Chronologie, p. 217.

15 For the apposition of *ἐξέτραν* to *ἐπίπεδον τόπον ἕνα* cf. I 76. 19 f., *ὑπερίσους δύο κυμπόσιον καὶ κοιτώνα*, and 'Urkunden aus Panopolis' in *ZPE* 7 (1971) no. 13. 4-6, *μέρος οἰκίας. . . κυμπόσιον τε καὶ ἐξέδραν*.

19 The same amount is paid in A.D. 444 for the lease of two dining rooms (VIII 1129).

26 *τὸ κυμπόσιον*: i.e. the exedra, the cellar being subsumed. The inconsistency of the description may be compared with the looseness of VIII 1129, a lease of *δύο τόπων ἧτοι κυμπόσια*.

28 The last part of the line, formulaic as it is, is a mere scrawl.

3204. DEED OF SURETY

2 IB. 93/(a)

16 × 28 cm.

1 January A.D. 588

A deed of surety in standard form from Apollos son of Phoebammon guaranteeing that a *colonus adscripticius* whose name has been lost will remain in his village. The loss of c. 15 letters from the left side of most of the papyrus has removed the name of the addressee, a lady who holds the position of pagarch. As in P.S.I. I 52, also addressed to a pagarch, the serf had been in a municipal rather than a private prison. There is no apparent reason to connect this text with the Apion estate which has furnished most of the parallel documents.

For similar texts add to the list in P. Mert. II 98 introd. XXIV 2420, XXVII 2478 (on the date of which see *JE* 49 (1963) 181), and *ZPE* 5 (1970) 286 ff.

→ [†Βασιλείας τοῦ θε]ι[ο]γράφου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου εὐεργέτου
[Φλ(αοῦ) Μαυρικίου Τ]ιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγουστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος
ἔτους 5'
[καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτ]οῦ ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους 6' Τύβι 5 ἰνδ(ικτιονος) 5 (ἔτους)
588 κλυ
[Φλ(αοῦ) c. 14] τῇ ἐνδοξοτάτῃ ἰλλουστρία θυγατρὶ τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου
μνήμης
5 [c. 15]ων[ο]ς γεουχούνη ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει διὰ τοῦ
[c. 15]νος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου αὐτῆς διοικητοῦ Ἀπολλῶς βοθηδός τῆς
[αὐτῆς ὑμετέρας ἐν]δοξ(όστητος) υἱός τοῦ μακαρίου Φοιβάμμωνος ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ
τῆς
[αὐτῆς Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) π]όλεως ἐξῆς ὑπ[ο]γράφων ἰδία χειρὶ χαιρεῖν. ὁμολογῶ
ἑκούσια

[γνώμη καὶ αὐ]θαιρέτῳ προαιρέσει ἐπωμύμενος τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσιμον ὄρκον
10 [ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀνα]δέχεσ[θ]αι παρὰ τῇ ὑμετέρῃ ἐνδοξ(όστητι) διὰ τῶν αὐτῆ
προσκήκοντων
[Αὐρ(ήλιον) c. 12]ον υἱὸν Ἰωάννου μητροῦς Νημίθας ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ
[c. 12]πα[γαρχουμένης ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξόστητος τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχίτου
[νομοῦ ἐφ' ᾧ τε αὐ]τὸν ἀδιαλείπτως παραμεῖναι καὶ διάγειν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ
[κώμῃ μετὰ τῶν αὐ]τοῦ φιλάτων καὶ γαιμετῆς καὶ κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς
15 [αὐτοῦ ἀποσκευῆς] ἀποκρινόμενος εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ ὄρῳντα τὸ αὐτοῦ πρόσωπ[ον]
[ἦτοι τὴν τοῦ ἐναπογρά]φου τύχην καὶ μηδαμῶς αὐτῆν καταλείψαι τὴν αὐτῆν
[κώμην c. 12] μήτε μὴν μεθίστασ[θ]αι εἰς ἕτερον τόπ[ο]ν ἀλλὰ καὶ
[ἐπιζητούμενος αὐτὸ]ν πρὸς ἐμὲ πα[ρὰ] τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυεῖας διὰ τῶν
[αὐτῆ προσκήκοντ]ων ἐν οἰαδῆπποτε ἡμέρα οἰαδῆπποτοῦν ἔνεκεν
20 [προφ]ά[ξι]εως τῶν παροίω καὶ παραδώσω ἐν δημοσίῳ τόπῳ
[ἐκτό]ς παντὸς τόπου προσφυγῆς καὶ λόγου ἔνθα αὐτὸν καὶ παρεῖληφα,
ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως· ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω ὁμολογῶ
[καταβαλ]εῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπολείψεως χρυσοῦ οὐγκίας δύο Ἀλεξανδρείας
[ἔργῳ καὶ δ]ιγγᾶμαι ἀπαιτουμένας, ὑποθέμενος εἰς τὸ δίκαιον ταύτης τῆς
25 [ἐγγύης πάν]τ[α] μου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπάρξοντα ἰδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς
[ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ καὶ ὑπο]θήκης δικαί[ω]. κυρία ἢ ἐγγύη ἀπλή γραφεῖσα καὶ
[ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολό]γησα.† (m. 2) Ἀπο[λ]λῶς υ[ι]ός τοῦ μακαρίου Φοι-
[βάμμωνος] (traces)
→ (Back) [ἐγγύη Ἀπολλῶ]τος υἱοῦ τοῦ μ[ακ(αρίου) Φοιβάμ-]
30 [μωνος ἀπὸ τ]ῆς Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλεως) ἀν[α]δεχομένου c. 25]..

ἢ.

3 τυβι, ἰνδ| 7 υἱός 8 ἰδία 10 ἡμετερα 11 υἱὸν Ἰωαννου, I. ὀρμώμενος 12 ὑπο,
ἡμῶν 17 μεθίστασθαι 18 ἡμῶν 24 ὑποθέμενος 25 ὑπάρχοντα ὑπάρξοντα ἰδικῶς
30 I. Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν

'Year 6 of the reign of our most godly and pious sovereign and greatest benefactor Fl. Mauricius Tiberius the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 5 of the consulship of our same sovereign, Tybi 6 of the 6th indiction, year 264 = 233.

'To Flavia . . . the most honoured *illustris*, daughter of . . . of honoured memory, landholder here in the illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, acting through you, . . . her most illustrious administrator; Apollos, assistant of your same honour, son of the departed Phoebammon, coming from the same city of Oxyrhynchus, whose signature follows below in my own hand, greeting. I agree voluntarily and of my own free choice, under the sacred oath by the genius of the emperor, to give surety and pledge before your honour, acting through your honour's representatives, for . . . son of John and Namitha (?), who comes from the village. . . of your honour's pagarchy in the Oxyrhynchite nome, on the following terms. He shall continually stay and abide in his village with his loved ones and his wife and his beasts and all his possessions. He shall be responsible for all that regards his person or the fortune of a serf. He shall by no means leave the same village. . . nor remove to another place; but if

he is required of me by your excellence, acting through your excellence's representatives, at any date for any reason whatsoever I shall bring him forward and deliver him up in a public place without recourse to any place of refuge or letter of safe-conduct, in the place whence I took charge of him, in the prison of the same city. Or if I fail to do this, I agree to pay for his non-appearance two ounces of gold (by the standard) of Alexandria, actual payment of which is to be enforced. And I pledge for the rights of this deed of surety all my property present and future, in particular and in general, as security and by way of mortgage. This deed of surety written in one copy is valid, and in reply to the formal question I have so declared.'

(Subscription) 'I, Apollos, son of the departed Phoebammon . . .'

(Back) 'Deed of surety of Apollos, son of the departed Phoebammon, from the city of Oxyrhynchus, who gives pledge for . . .'

1-3 For the systems of dating used in the reign of Maurice see N. Lewis, *AYP* 60 (1939) 414-21.

10 *παρά τῆ κτλ.*: the dative is found again in P.S.I. I 52. 13 and *ZPE* 5 (1970) 287. 5.

17 The lacuna included the name of the village.

23 For the omission of ζυγῶ before 'Αλεξανδρεῖας cf. e.g. P. Iand. 18. 3-4.

30 The traces after the lacuna are perhaps not incompatible with *μῆτρ' Ἰωάννου*, but they hardly compel that reading, and it is more probable that the whole name of the serf has been lost, the remaining traces being the name of his village of origin.

VII. TEXTS FIRST PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE

3205. Land-register from the Mendesian nome, first published by Professor A. Swiderek, *JJP* 16-17 (1971) 31-44. No inv. no. Col. i 25 × 27 cm. A.D. 297-308.

Col. i

↓ *Μεν]δησίου*
τοπ]αρχίας Φερνουφίτου
] . ρ [. ε ὑπὸ Φιλέου κηνείτορος
βρεομιο ἑδάφους κατ' ἄνδρα
5 *ἐν τόμ[ω] ἐνὶ κολ(λημάτων) ὑλζ*
κυνή[χθη]σαν ἐνεργοῦς γῆς ἀπογεγραμ-
μένης (ἄρ.) (μυρ.) 'Αψφ Ζηλβξδ
ἐν [αἰζ] ἐπὶ πλεονα[ζμοῦ] (ἄρ.) 'BCξς Ζηισλβ
ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως (ἄρ.) Ϝζ ηισλβ
10 *χέρσου ἀπογεγραμμένης (ἄρ.) 'B ζλμθ*
χερ[οπαρ]αδεί(εων) (ἄρ.) 'ΑρϜδ δξδ
οὔτως
βασι(κῆς) γῆς (ἄρ.) 'Γυπδ Ζδξδ''
ταμι[α]κ(ῶν) αουνδικιων (ἄρ.) γΛη'
15 *[ἐν αἰ]ζ ἀπὸ πλ(εοναζμοῦ) (ἄρ.) β ηξδ*
κτη[τό]ρων (ἄρ.) 'Γυπα ηξδ
ἐν αἰζ ἀπὸ πλ(εοναζμοῦ) (ἄρ.) 'ACς δηλβξδ
ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως
χέρσου (ἄρ.) με Ζηισ
20 *καὶ [ἀπ]δ ἐπιμεμήσεως (ἄρ.) τε*
ἰδιωτ(ικῆς) (ἄρ.) 'Ζφξς ηισλβ
ὄν
ταμιακῶν αουνδικ(ιων) (ἄρ.) η
κτη[τό]ρων (ἄρ.) 'Ζφνη ηισλβ
25 *ἀπ[δ] πλ(εοναζμοῦ) (ἄρ.) ζπζ ις''*
θεω . []ερ[]ικη. (ἄρ.) Cγ δξδ''
ἀ[πδ] πλ(εοναζμοῦ) (ἄρ.) β Λδ''
(γίνονται) τάξεως ἰδιωτ(ικῆς) (ἄρ.) 'Ζψξθ δηισλβξδ

Col. ii

- ἀμπέλου φορίμης (ἄρ.) υἱαζ.η [λβξδ̄]
 30 αἱ οὐδ(σαι) κτητόρων
 ἐν αἷς ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ (ἄρ.) ιη. []
 καὶ ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως (ἄρ.) μζ. []
 παραδίσων ἐναρέτων (ἄρ.) κβ δ[ηλβ]
 ὧν
 35 ταμακῶν αουνδικ(ων) (ἄρ.) β
 κτητόρων (ἄρ.) κδ[ηλβ]
 ἐν αἷς πλ(εονασμοῦ) (ἄρ.) ζ. λβ̄
 κναμῶνος
 αἱ οὐδ(σαι) ἀπὸ πλ(εονασμοῦ) (ἄρ.) μβ d. .
 40 (γίνονται) τάξεως παραδίσων (ἄρ.) ξδ Ζηις
 χαρακῶνος ἐμφύτου (ἄρ.) ξ ις̄
 ἐν αἷς ἀπὸ πλ(εονασμοῦ) (ἄρ.) Ζηισλβξδ̄
 καὶ ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως (ἄρ.) β'
 (γίνονται) ἐνεργοῦς αἱ προκ(είμεναι)
 45 χέρσου ὁμοίως ἀπογεγραμμένης
 βασιλικ(ῆς) (ἄρ.) Cξ.
 ἰδιωτ(ικῆς) (ἄρ.) ψν. .
 χερσαμπέλου (ἄρ.) 'Αων[η]Ζηξδ̄
 ὧν
 50 ταμακῶν αουνδικ(ων) (ἄρ.) νς̄ δ̄η
 κτητόρων (ἄρ.) 'Αωβ δξδ̄
 χερσοπαραδίσων (ἄρ.) οη ιςλβ̄
 ὧν
 ταμακ(ῶν) αουνδικ(ων) (ἄρ.) ιγ η'
 55 κτητόρων (ἄρ.) ξδδ η[ιςλβ]
 (γίνονται) χ(έρσου) αἱ προκ(είμεναι)

Col. iii

- χερσ[α]μπέλου (ἄρ.) φινγ. []
 χερσοπαραδίσων (ἄρ.) ιγ Ζη.
 χέρσου ἀλμυ[ρι]δος καὶ ξυλ(ίτιδος) (ἄρ.) χξς̄ δ[λβξδ̄]
 60 (γίνονται) τῆς τοπ(αρχίας) [π]ακῶν εἰδεῶν

(ἄρ.) (μυρ.) α[Ε'ζ]λγ Ζδ̄ηιςλβ̄

ὧν ἔστιν [τὸ κα]τὰ κώμην

- κώμης Ψεν. .
 συνήχθησαν ἐνεργοῦς γῆς ἀπο-
 65 γεγραμμένης (ἄρ.) υξα δλβ̄
 ἐν αἷς πλ(εονασμοῦ) (ἄρ.) ιβ̄ ηλβξδ̄
 χέρσου ἀπογεγραμμένης (ἄρ.) κα ζ'
 οὕτως
 βασιλ(ικῆς) γῆς (ἄρ.) υνγ ηις̄
 70 ἐν αἷς πλ(εονασμοῦ) (ἄρ.) θ η. .
 παραδίσων ἐναρ[ε]των (ἄρ.) γ δ̄ηιςλβ̄
 ἐν αἷς πλ(εονασμοῦ) (ἄρ.) διςξδ̄
 κναμῶνος ἀπὸ πλ(εονασμοῦ) (ἄρ.) ε η'
 (γίνονται) τάξεως παραδ(ίσων) (ἄρ.) η Ζηλβ̄
 75 χέρσου βασιλ(ικῆς) (ἄρ.) κα ζ'
 (γίνονται) κώμης πακῶν εἰδεῶν
 (ἄρ.) υνγ δλβ̄

Col. iv

- αἱ οὐδαι κοινοῦ κώμης Ψεν. . . .
 Πετοεῖριος Πετοεῖριος καὶ 'Ορσιή[ι]ος
 80 μητρός 'Αρτεμίτος κωμαρχῶν καὶ Πετ[]
 Πετοεῖριος ὀριοδίκτου καὶ 'Ωρου Πετεμούν[ι]ος
 καὶ 'Αράχθου Πετοεῖριος καὶ Πετε.β. .
 ριος μειζόνων κώμης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης
 85 ὧν ἔστιν τὸ κατὰ κοίτην
 α κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) οβ ις'' παραδ(ίσων) (ἄρ.) λβ'' β κοί(τη)
 ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) μβ̄ διςλβ̄ παραδ(ίσων) (ἄρ.) λβ'' γ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.)
 ιγ δλβ̄
 δ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) λξ̄ Ζδ̄ηξδ̄ παραδ(ίσων) (ἄρ.) d' ε κοί(τη)
 ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ξα Ζδ̄ηιςλβ̄ παραδ(ίσων) (ἄρ.) ζις'' ε κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης)
 (ἄρ.) μβ̄ Ζδ̄η'
 90 παραδ(ίσων) (ἄρ.) d' ζ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ι ηιςξδ̄ παραδ(ίσων)
 (ἄρ.) ις'' η κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) κγ Ζηλβ̄ παραδ(ίσων) (ἄρ.) ξδ̄

- θ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ιθ ἀ̄η̄ις
 ι κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) θ ια κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) μη λβ'' παραδ(ίτων)
 (ἄρ.) []'
 ιβ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ι δ' παραδ(ίτων) (ἄρ.) η̄ις υγ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης)
 (ἄρ.) ιβ ∟ δ
 95 παραδ(ίτων) (ἄρ.) η̄ις λβ̄ ιδ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) ιβ δ̄η̄ις παραδ(ίτων) (ἄρ.) . .
 ιε κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) κη ∟ η̄λβ̄ χέρου (ἄρ.) ιε ις'' ις κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρ-
 μένης) (ἄρ.) .
 παραδ(ίτων) (ἄρ.) δ̄η̄ις ιζ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) β ∟ η̄ παραδ(ίτων) (ἄρ.) η'
 ιη κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) γ χ(έρου) (ἄρ.) γ κ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἄρ.) δ ις''
 χ(έρου) (ἄρ.) γ δ̄η̄
 κα κοί(τη) κυμαῶνος (ἄρ.) ε η'
 100 (γίνονται) αἰ προκ(είμηναι)

3206. A fragment of a Homeric lexicon, resembling that of Apollonius Sophista, first published by John W. Shumaker, *BASP* 7 (1970) 59-65, with plate, p. 66. 29 4B. 44/C (1-3)a. 23.5 × 13.2 cm. Second century. This text stands on the back of a register. Accents etc. are an editorial addition.

Col. i

↓
]ων
]. ὁ (ποιητής)
]. ν.
].

Col. ii

[δι]αστήτην διέστησαν
 διάνδιχα διχῆ
 δία ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς γένος ἔ-
 χουσα ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔντεμος, ἀγα-
 5 θή
 διάμησα διέκοψα
 διαπρήσσειν διαπερᾶν
 διακριδόν ἐξ ἐπικ[ρίσεως]. δι-

- ακεχωρισμένως
 10 δι' ἄκριας κατὰ τὰς ἀκρω-
 ρείας
 διδύμονε διδυμοὶ ἀδελ-
 φοὶ οὐ κεχωρισμένοι [τ]οῖς
 σώμασι. οἱ δὲ συμφύεις [δι]δυ-
 15 μοὶ λέγονται
 διέπουσι διαπονοῦσι καὶ ἐ-
 νεργοῦσι
 διεξίμηναι διεξελεθῆν
 [δι]είρεαι διερωτᾶς
 20 [δι]έχευαν διεμέρισαν εἰς με-
 [γ]άλα μέρη
 [δι]έσχεν διήλθεν
 [δι]έτμαγον διεχώρισαν
 [διερ]όν ὑγρόν
 25 [διέν]ται [δι]ώκονται
 [διει]πέτεο[ς] διαπέτασμα καὶ
 [π]λάτο[ς] ἔχοντος ἢ οἰονεῖ
 [χ]ειμαρρό[ου]
 [διε]πέφραδ[εν] ἐπετείλατο
 30 [διέ]πρησεν διεπέρασεν
 [δι]ελίησας ἐν δειλινῇ δι.
 []ξάνω
 [δι]επράθομεν ἐπορθήσα-
 μεν
 35 [δι]ξήμενη [ς]ητοῦσα
 [δι]ήται δι[ώξει]
 [δι]ήρ[ε]σαν δι[εν]ήξαντο
 [διή]φ[υ]εν ἐξήτλησεν
 [δικ]ασπλό[ου]ς δικ[αστάς]
 40 [δι]κλίδες δίθυροι
 [δ]εινεῖν συστ[ρέφει]ν
 [δ]εινωτήν [ς]τρο[γγύλην]
 [δ]εινωτοῖσιν λεχέ[ε]σαι δε-

- νωτοῖς καὶ στρα[γγύλοισ] ἀ-
 45 πὸ τῆς κλινοπόρων
 [πέ]ριφερ[εία]ς
 [δίων] ἐ[δ]ιώχθησαν
 [δῖος ἀ]πὸ Διὸς τὸ γένος
 [έχων]
 50 [διοτρεφέων ἀ]πὸ Διὸς ἐλ-
 [κόντων τὸ γέν]ος ἢ ἀγαθῶ[ν]
 [c. 12 ἐκτα]δίην κ. .
 [c. 10]μεγάλην

12 l. διδυμόνε 25 l. διώκονται

3207. Vocabulary to Homer, *Iliad* 1 4-18, first published by F. Carter Philips, Jr., *BASP* 8 (1971) 91-8, with plate, p. 95. 8 1B. 189/E (1-3)a. 21.0 x 6.4 cm. Third century. Accents etc. are an editorial addition.

Front ↓

- (4) [ἐλώρια: σπαράγματα,] ἐλκύματα
 (5) [οἰωνοῖσι: σαρ]κοφάγοις ὀρ'νέοις'
 (6) [ἐρίσαντε: φιλον]ευκήσαντες
 (5) [ἐτελείετο: ἐτελει]οῦτο
 (6) 5 [ἐξ οὗ δῆ: ἀφ' οὗ] δῆ χρόνου
 (6) [τὰ πρῶτα: πρ]ῶτον
 (6) [διαστῆτην: διέσ]τησαν, δυνικῶς
 (7) [Ἄτρείδης: ὁ Ἄτρε]ῖος παῖς Ἄγαμέμνων'
 (7) [ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν: βασι]λεύς
 (7) 10 [δῖος: ἐν]δοξος
 (8) [cφω]ε: αὐτοῦς:
 (8) [ἔριδι: φιλ]ορνεϊκία
 (8) [ξυνέηκε: συ]νέβαλεν
 (9) [Ἀητοῦς καὶ Διὸς νί]ός: ὁ Ἄπόλλων
 (9) 15 [ὁ γάρ: οὗ]τως γάρ[ρ]

7 διῆκως 15 l. οὗτος

- (9) [βασιλῆι: β]ασιλεῖ
 (9) [χολωθείς: ὀρ]γυθεῖς
 (10) [νοῦσον: ν]όσον
 (10) [ἀνὰ στρατόν: κ]ατὰ τὸ σ[τρ]α-
 20 [τό]πεδον
 (10) [ᾠρσε: ἐ]φώρμησεν
 (10) [κακῆν: κα]κωτικῆν
 (10) [ὀλέκοντο: ἀπ]ώλλων[τ]ο

Back

- (10) → λαοί: ὄχλ[οι]
 (11) Χρῦσην: [
 (11) ἠτίμησεν[:
 (11) ἀρητήρα[:
 (12) 5 Ἄτρείδης[:
 (12) θοάς: τα[χ]είας
 (13) λυόμεν[ο]ς:
 (13) θύγατρα[:
 (13) ἀπερείς[ι]:
 (14) 10 στέμματ[ι]:
 (14) ἐκηβόλ[ου]:
 (15) χρυσέω[:
 (14) ἐν χερσ[ίν]:
 (15) σκήπτρ[ω]:
 (15) 15 ἐλλέσσερ[:
 (16) Ἄτρεΐδα[: Ἄγαμέμνονα καὶ
 Μεινέλαον
 (16) μάλιτα[:
 (16) κομμήτ[ο]ρε:
 (17) 20 εὐκνήμ[ιδ]ες:
 (18) δοῖεν [
 (18) Ὀλύμπια [δῶματ' ἔχοντες:
 οἱ τὸν Ὀλυμπον κατοικοῦν-
 τες θεοί
 25 ἐστὼν [
 α θεῶ[ν]

3208. A Latin letter, first published by Miss Virginia Brown, *BICS* 17 (1970) 136-43, with plate (iv). 34 4B. 76/L (2-3)a. 18 × 10 cm. Reign of Augustus?

> Suneros. Chio suo. plur(imam). sal(utem). s(i). u(ales) b(enc). Theo adduxsit. ad. me. Ochapim

regiūm. mensularium. oxsyrychitem. qui quidem. mecum. est. locutus

de. inprobitate. Epaphraes. itaque. nihil. ultra. loquor. quam. [no]

ne patiarus. te. propter. illos. perire. crede. mihi. nimia. bonitas

5 pernicies. homin[*i*]bus est 'uel. maxsuma'. deinde. ipse. tibi. de. monstrabit

qu[*i*]t. rei. sit. qum. illum. ad te. uocareis. set. perseruera

qui. de. tam pusilla. summa. tam. magnum. lucrum. facit

dominum. occidere. uolt. deinde. ego. clamare. debeo. siquod. uideo

deuom. atque. hominum. [fidem. si. tu. [.] . ista. non. cuibis]

10 tuum. erit. uindicare. ne. alio. libeat. facere *vac.*

On the back: → Chio. Cacsaris

1 *l.* Syneros, adduxit 2 *l.* Oxryrhynchitem 3 *l.* Epaphrae 4 *l.* patiaris 5 *l.* maxima, tibi 6 *l.* quid, cum, uocaris, sed, perseuera 8 *l.* uult 9 *l.* diuum, quibus or cuiuis? 10 *l.* alii

'Syneros to his friend Chius very many greetings. If you are well, fine. Theon brought to me Ochapim, the public banker of Oxryrhynchus, who spoke with me concerning Epaphras' wickedness. Therefore I say nothing more than "do not let yourself come to ruin on their account". Believe me, excessive generosity brings disaster, perhaps more than anything else, on men. He himself will show you later the meaning of the affair when you have summoned him to you. But stick to it: he who makes so great a profit from so trifling a sum is willing to kill his master. Then I ought to cry out, if my perceptions are to be trusted, "Heaven and earth!" It will be your task to exact punishment lest it prove attractive to another to do it.'

Interpunctons: all interpunctons are printed as dots on the line. Most are so placed in the original, but a few (arbitrarily? see Plate) are in the medial position. Many are immediately before the word following them rather than after the preceding word.

ἀγγελ- [3151⁸⁰1?]

*ἀγος [3151¹⁰2]

ἀγρεύειν [3151³⁴1]

Ἀθηνᾶ [3151²2]

Ἄτας [3151¹ii 4, 15]

αἰρεῖν [3151²¹3?]

αἰχμαλω[τ-] [3151⁵10]

ἀκόλλητος [3151⁸8]

ἀλεκτρῶν [3151¹margin]

ἀλλά [3151¹ii 8?, 9, 15, 1⁰4, [1⁴3?]

ἄλλος [3151¹ii 8?]

ἄν [3151¹ii 10]

ἄναξ [3151⁴10?]

ἄνηρ [3151²7?, 4¹3]

ἀπό [3151¹margin]

ἀποφήν- [3151⁵11?]

*Ἀργε[-] [3151⁴9 1?]

*Ἀργεῖος [3151²3, 8]

*Ἀργος [3151⁷7?]

*Ἀτρείδης [3151⁴86?]

ἀφένει [3151³8⁴]

*Ἀχαιοὶ [3151⁴81?]

(-)βαίνειν [3151⁶2?]

βίσιος [3151¹⁰3]

βρέτας [3151⁸8]

*βυροφώνης [3151⁶6]

γάρ [3151¹ii 11?, 4¹2?, 8²?, 3⁴?, [4⁸5?]

γε [3151¹ii 13]

(-)γίγνεσθαι [3151¹39]

Γοργιάς [3151¹86]

δέ [3151⁸, 9, 11?, 12?, 7⁸

INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. Square brackets indicate that a word is substantially restored, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or symbol. The article and *καί* are not indexed.

I. NEW LITERARY AND SUBLITERARY TEXTS

(a) 3151

διαπάξ [3151⁴810]

δμωή [3151⁸⁰2?]

δράν [3151⁵13]

Δρύας [3151²2]

ἐργον- [3151²2]

ἐγώ [3151¹i 10?]

εἴ [3151⁴4?]

εἰ [3151⁴12?]

εἰκάζων [3151²7]

εἶναι [3151³4?, 5¹2?]

ἐκ [3151²9]

ἐ[κ]λυ[-] [3151¹5 1?]

ἐκλυτήριον [3151¹52?]

*Ἐλικῶν [3151⁴8]

*ἐλιχοχάτης [3151²5??]

(-)ελκεῖν [3151⁸⁰2?]

ἐμός [3151¹i 10?, [ii 9?]

ἐνερθεῖν [3151²5]

ἐξαινετάται [3151²5]

ἐξέρχεσθαι [3151³3?]

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 ultra 3208 3
 uocare 3208 6



3

Fragment 3: A small, rectangular piece of papyrus with faint Greek text, possibly a fragment of a larger document.

316r

Fragment 316r: A vertical strip of papyrus with several lines of Greek text, showing some ink bleed-through from the reverse side.

1

Fragment 3172: A rectangular piece of papyrus with Greek text, including a large initial letter 'Χ'.

3172

Fragment 3182: A large, irregular piece of papyrus with multiple lines of Greek text, including a large initial letter 'Χ'.

3182

